THE GROWTH OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

MODERN CHRISTIANITY

ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS

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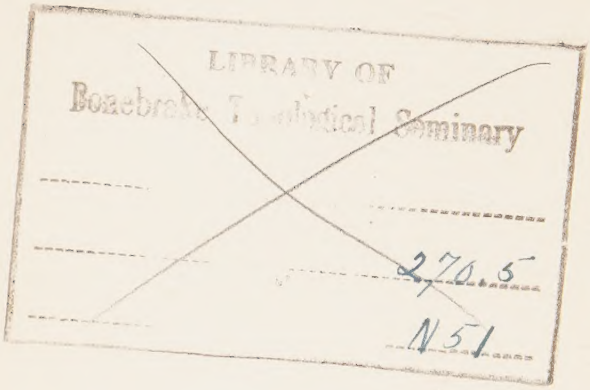

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THE GROWTH
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH

By

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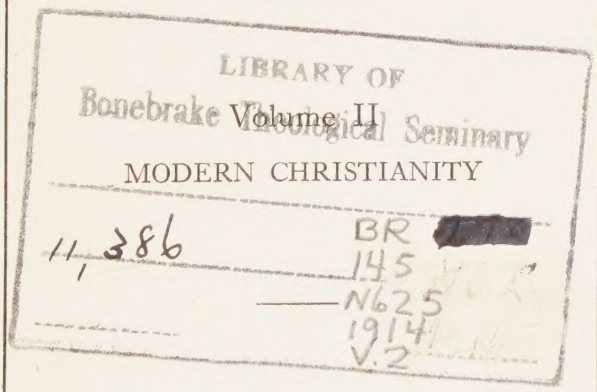

Volume II

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CHAPTER X

DECAY AND NEW LIFE IN THE WESTERN CHURCH

(A. D. 1294-1517)

In this chapter we shall trace two diverse movements. One is the decay of the church which for centuries had represented Christianity in western Europe. The other is the rise of new forces which were to cause the formation of new organizations more truly representing Christianity.

I. POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Rise of national power

At the middle of the thirteenth century, we have seen, the papacy overthrew its great rival the German, or Holy Roman, Empire.[1] Never again was the empire so strong as it had been. But in the later Middle Ages the French and English nations developed greatly. Each of these peoples became united under a series of masterful kings. Each had a strong sense of national independence, and resented interference by foreigners in its own affairs. And the German people also, while they did not work out their national government until a much later time, began to have a stronger national spirit. When we come to study the Reformation, we shall find that it was in one aspect a revolt of certain great nations of western

[1] See Vol. I, p. 112.

Europe against the rule of the Roman Church, exercised over them by a foreigner, the Pope. In the period covered by this chapter there rises this national strength which was later to throw off the church's control and shatter its organization.

II. WHERE THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH FAILED

In Chapter IX we considered the services rendered by the medieval church, and saw that in its time it was an indispensable instrument of the kingdom of God. Now we must look at some great faults of the church, which, growing worse during this period, showed that it had reached the end of its usefulness.

A. THE CORRUPTION OF THE CLERGY

Causes of corruption

The church failed shamefully and ruinously in the decay of the character of its clergy. Two causes of this decay can be seen. What for a time was a strength to the church turned out in the end to be a weakness, that is the tremendous authority of the priesthood. Such powers and privileges over their fellow men as were held by the clergy, especially those of higher rank, could not but harm their characters. Equally injurious was the great wealth belonging to the church and enjoyed by the clergy, particularly by those in the superior places.

Self-seeking and avarice

Because of these things, selfishness came to rule the lives of most of the clergy. They were zealous to guard their legal and social privileges. They made money their great end. Many were "plural-

ists," that is, they held two or more clerical offices and drew their incomes, sometimes hiring cheap substitutes to do the work which they could not do. By simony, flourishing still in spite of all reformers, great and rich places were gained. Sinecures, positions with large incomes and no work, were numerous and eagerly sought. Avarice was worst in the upper clergy. The greed, the extortions, the "graft" of the bishops were a public scandal.

Immorality

Immorality also was widespread. It does no good to "stir cesspools"; it is enough to say that in the later Middle Ages drunkenness, gluttony and uncleanness were increasingly common among the clergy. The literature of the time is full of attacks on their vices. Here also the bishops, whose example was so powerful, had a "bad eminence."

Corruption increasing

This degradation of the clergy deepened through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, until Europe was full of indignation and hatred against them. Pope Benedict XIII's secretary said of them, "Scarcely one in a thousand sincerely does what his profession requires." The monastic orders somewhat resisted the moral decay for a while. But they, too, became infected, and we find monks and nuns the objects of widespread scorn because of their vices. Even the Mendicants, so lately founded, at last largely yielded to the prevalent degeneration, though both orders maintained extensive and heroic missions, and in both there were parties that were true to the early ideals.

B. THE DEGRADATION OF RELIGION

Another great failure of the church was in teaching a debased form of Christianity. The church allowed the gospel to be overlaid with a religion of sacramental rites bringing a magical salvation, prayers to the good spirits of the Virgin and the saints, godless fear of evil spirits, wonder-working relics and charms, and priestly curses and deliverances. Protest against all this was made by dissenters, first appearing in the eleventh century. The early preaching of the Mendicants was an effort of spiritually minded men to give the people something better. But the church in general learned nothing. As the Middle Ages draw toward their close we see no important endeavor to purify worship and teaching.

C. THE NEGLECT OF THE PEOPLE

Neglect of clerical duty

A third great failure of the later medieval church was its neglect of the people committed to its charge. It goes without saying that a clergy such as we have described shirked its duties. Bishops rarely inspected the churches they were supposed to oversee. Parish priests were usually satisfied with performing at the prescribed times the Latin ritual, which none of the people, and often not the priest himself, understood. Very few of them preached, and there was little pastoral visiting and instruction. The people heard sermons only from Franciscan and Dominican friars.

One aspect of the church's failure to care for the people is particularly interesting at the pres-

ent time. The towns of Europe grew very rapidly from the twelfth century, just as the cities of the United States have done in recent years. Ruled by self-seeking and careless clergy, the church grievously failed to meet the new need. It did not provide nearly enough churches and priests for the people of many places. In the horrible filth of medieval towns thousands of the poor lived without Christian care for body or soul.

Lack of religious provision for the growing towns

Two things already mentioned must be taken into account here. One was the character and example of the clergy. The other was the character of the religion which the church offered. To people needing the gospel it gave a great system of superstition, administered by a worldly and corrupt priesthood. For the ignorance and wickedness and misery, physical and spiritual, of the later Middle Ages, the church had no better remedy than this.

What the church offered to the people

III. MOVEMENTS OF PROTEST

These fatal faults of the church had not grown up without condemnation. As early as the twelfth century there were several movements of dissent from the church, by bodies of men who found so much evil in it that they forsook its communion and worship. By far the most important of these took place in southeastern France, under the leadership of Peter de Bruys and Henry of Lausanne. They and their followers were opposed to some of the superstitious elements in the church's worship and usages, and indignant at

Petrobrusians

immorality in the clergy. This "Petrobrusian" movement grew until throughout a large region most of the people of all ranks deserted the churches and scorned the priests.

Cathari

Somewhat connected with this movement was the powerful religious party of the Cathari, which flourished in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This was really a rival church, for it had its own peculiar organization, ministry, beliefs, worship and sacraments. Its beliefs were a strange and gloomy mixture of Christianity and Oriental religious ideas. Matter was created by Satan, not by God, the Cathari said, and was the seat and source of evil. Hence they could not believe that the Son of God had had a human body and life. Hence also they held that the way to holiness lay through escape from the flesh, by denial of its desires, or even by suicide. Their vigorous, self-denying morality was a rebuke to many of the clergy and people who bore the Christian name. Their worship and sacraments were in part modeled after those of the church, but freed of superstitious elements and elaborate formalism. Though not really Christian, they represented a widespread desire for a better religion than the church was offering. The Cathari spread in Italy, France, Spain, the Netherlands and Germany. They were strongest in southeastern France, where they were called Albigenses (from the town Albi). Everywhere the Cathari were hunted by the Inquisition, which was established largely on their account. Against the Albigenses there was waged

at the bidding of Innocent III a fearful war of extermination, lasting twenty years, and depopulating and laying waste the garden of France.

The Franciscan and Dominican orders, formed soon after the rise of the Cathari, show that within the church there was recognition of its shortcomings, especially of its failure to preach the gospel. But, as we have seen, they lost much of their vitality in the later Middle Ages.

Waldenses

Another movement of protest was the Waldensian.[1] Late in the twelfth century a merchant of Lyons named Peter Waldo was moved by reading the tenth chapter of Matthew to give his money to the poor and become a wandering preacher of the gospel. Numerous followers gathered to him, and preached as he did. At first they intended to do their work within the church, though their purpose clearly shows a feeling that the church was not doing its duty. The ecclesiastical authorities, however, soon excommunicated them. Thus cast out and made hostile, they developed gradually into a dissenting church. In the late Middle Ages we find the Waldenses completely organized and spread widely over western Europe. In spite of constant hounding by the Inquisition, they were intensely active in teaching the gospel and circulating manuscript portions of the Bible in the language of the people.

Much like the Waldenses were the dissenters

[1] There is a direct connection between this and the modern Waldensian Church of Italy, but in the course of the centuries a great change in religious teachings occurred.

"Brethren" calling themselves the "Brethren." These people held a simple Christian faith, and were known among their neighbors for the unusual goodness and purity of their lives. They had nothing to do with the church and its clergy, and carried on their own religious services, in the vulgar tongue. They were great Bible-readers, and possessed many written copies of translations of the Bible, or portions of it. The societies of the "Brethren" all over Europe were in correspondence, and worked together. Like the Waldenses, they were active missionaries, in secret on account of persecution. Their strongest hold was among the workingmen of the towns, particularly in Germany.

But from all this growing volume of protest against its faults the church learned nothing. Its only answer was the Inquisition. Such an attitude was a prophecy of doom.

IV. DOWNFALL OF THE PAPACY

A. BONIFACE VIII

We turn now to look at still plainer signs of the coming disaster, appearing in the church's seat of supreme power. In 1294, after the papacy had suffered some loss of influence through several unwise Popes, Boniface VIII came to the throne. He had the ideas and the spirit of Hildebrand and Innocent III, and he thought to surpass even them. He aimed at being spiritual and temporal ruler of Europe, emperor as well as Pope. It is said that during the jubilee of 1300 he let thousands of pil-

The ambitions of Boniface

grims see him seated on a throne, wearing the crown and sword of Constantine, and shouting, "I am Cæsar; I am emperor." True or not, the story truly represents him.

His downfall

But when he attempted to carry out his ideas, he met two strong kings, Edward I of England and Philip the Fair of France. With united nations behind them, they bade him keep his hands out of their national affairs. The dispute, which was over the kings' right to tax church property, brought to a sharp issue the main question, whether church or nation should rule in the national territory. Boniface clamored, but had to yield. Later he became involved in another quarrel with Philip of France. In true Hildebrandine style, he asserted the papal supremacy over all kings, excommunicated Philip and threatened to depose him. Philip's answer to the papal thunders was to send men-at-arms to seize the Pope. At Anagni they captured him and for three days held him prisoner. Then he was released and returned to Rome, but very soon died (1303), heartbroken, or crazed by his sudden and awful fall. The mediæval papacy had received an incurable wound. The power that had ruled the world had been put to open shame, and no one had lifted a hand to defend it. What had struck the blow was the new political force of nationality.

B. THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY

The papacy was now in the power of the French king. In 1305 this was publicly declared by the

Pope's removal from Rome to Avignon, on the Rhone, just across the river from French territory. Here, in its "Babylonish Captivity," the papacy remained for seventy-two years. In this time it lost its hold on the mind and conscience of Europe. The mere removal from Rome meant an irreparable decline of authority. This was felt by all men, even the most ignorant and unthinking. The French control lowered the papacy in the eyes of all other peoples. Great loss of moral influence came from the notorious immorality of the papal court, in which some of the Popes set the example. Still greater loss came from the insatiable avarice of the Avignon Popes. Europe groaned under their manifold and never-ceasing extortions.

C. THE GREAT SCHISM

As if the Captivity were not enough, there followed the Great Schism in the papacy. Bowing to the demand of public opinion, but probably moved still more by the insistence of that wonderful young woman, St. Catherine of Siena, Gregory XI in 1377 returned to Rome. Shortly after the election of his successor in 1378 a rival Pope was chosen by the French cardinals, and set up his court at Avignon. For more than thirty years there were two Popes, one at Avignon and the other at Rome. Some nations acknowledged Rome and some Avignon. Division and strife spread through the whole church. The situation became so intolerable that the cardinals of both Popes called a general council to heal the Schism. It

met at Pisa in 1409, and chose a new Pope. But since the existing two refused to resign, there were now three Popes. Five years later there met another general council, that of Constance, which deposed two of them and persuaded the third to resign. Then the Schism was ended through the election of Martin V, who was acknowledged by the whole church. Martin and several of his successors were shrewd politicians and good managers, and they regained for the papacy more power and respect than seemed possible. But it could never be what it had been.

V. REVOLTS FROM THE CHURCH; THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the conditions which we have described caused two revolts which the church could not suppress.

A. JOHN WYCLIF

Wyclif's position and teachings

For John Wyclif's work the way was prepared by the growth in England of national spirit. When he came into strife with the papacy, in 1375, England for three quarters of a century, through kings and parliaments and even bishops, had been resisting papal interference in its church affairs. Wyclif (who was born between 1320 and 1330) was already famous as the first scholar and the leading man of Oxford. He was also priest of Lutterworth, where he had gained his strong sympathy with the poor. His first blow at the church was a denial of the Pope's right to col-

lect tribute from England. The papal Schism caused him to go much further in his views. He now denounced the papacy and the entire clerical organization, maintaining that there should be no distinctions of rank among the clergy. Going yet further, he denied the central doctrine of medieval religion, that of transubstantiation.

His appeal to the English people

For these teachings, Wyclif was condemned by a church council. Before this he had begun his great appeal to the people. In many tracts, in homely English, he attacked the whole system of the medieval church, and declared that the Bible

Translation of the Bible

was the supreme authority in religion. Then came his greatest work, the translation of the Bible from the Vulgate, the Latin version, into English. By this Wyclif and his helpers, Oxford scholars, opened the Bible to the English people for the first time. To circulate among the people his teachings and his Bible he formed his order

The Lollards

of "poor priests," nicknamed Lollards. Some of these were Oxford students, but more were uneducated young men from Wyclif's parish. Wearing rough russet robes, barefoot and with staves in their hands, depending on charity for food and shelter, they went all over England. They carried manuscripts of Wyclif's tracts and sermons and of portions of his Bible, and as they went they preached. They increased enormously, and were a great power for the spread of evangelical religion. Though in the fifteenth century they were savagely persecuted, they continued their work until the time of the Reformation.

Wyclif's death

While his missionaries were out on the roads, Wyclif's end came. So strong was his position in England that the ecclesiastical authorities did no more against him than call him a heretic, and he died in peace in his parish.

B. JOHN HUS

John Hus, the leader of the Bohemians

Wyclif's teachings bore fruit in another and even greater revolt against the church, led by John Hus (1369-1415). In the Bohemians whom Hus led we have another case of intense national spirit. By origin Hus was distinctly a man of the people. An influential lecturer in the University of Prague, and a priest, he was appointed to an important place as preacher in Prague. There he at once became the spokesman of his nation in both its political and its religious desires. He expressed its determination to maintain its rights against the Germans, and its strong demand that the outrageously immoral Bohemian clergy should be reformed. He knew his people, he was trusted by them for the purity of his character, he had splendid eloquence; and thus he became a powerful national leader.

His conflict with the church and martyrdom

Getting hold of Wyclif's books, Hus eagerly received Wyclif's ideas. By teaching the doctrines of a heretic he came into conflict with the rulers of the church. But he asserted his right to preach the truth of Christ as he saw it. Being excommunicated for his defiance of Pope John XXIII in 1412, he appealed to a general council. Such a council met at Constance in 1414, and there Hus

appeared. In the interval he wrote his chief book, in which he taught that "the law of Christ," that is, the New Testament, was sufficient guidance for the church, and that the Pope was to be obeyed only so far as his commands were founded upon this law. Hus's trial at Constance was a mockery. The council had already condemned Wyclif, who had been thirty years dead, as a heretic. Thus Hus's case was decided beforehand. Protesting his fidelity to Christ, scorning to gain release by recanting teachings falsely charged against him, he was burned at the stake in Constance.

Results of Hus's life

The wrath of the Bohemians at the killing of their national hero knew no bounds. Soon a great party of them began a war for independence. They defeated the German emperor, overran part of Germany, and greatly disturbed European affairs in general. Out of this Hussite revolt grew the Bohemian Brethren, a powerful religious body outside the church, whose activity leavened Bohemia and Moravia and even parts of Germany with evangelical Christianity. In other parts of Europe the martyrdom of Hus strengthened the spirit of revolt against the church.

VI. EFFORTS AT REFORM WITHIN THE CHURCH

A. THE DEMAND FOR REFORM

As we read of all these things, we ask in amazement whether there were not in these times men who stayed in the church, but had enough wisdom and Christianity to see that its evils must be

remedied. Such men there were, and very many. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw within the church a great rising tide of the spirit of reform. The degradation of the papacy in the Captivity and the Schism, the Popes' extortions and meddling in church affairs everywhere, the vice, avarice, incompetence and negligence of the clergy, the breaking down of discipline and administration in the hands of feeble or corrupt bishops—these things caused widespread sorrow and wrath, and loud demands that the shame and evil of the church be removed. So spoke many men of high rank in the clergy, including not a few bishops and cardinals. Statesmen and kings insisted that something must be done. From all countries, but especially from Germany and France, came the call for reform. The greatest theological school of the church, the University of Paris, was altogether ruled by the reformers, and supplied much of the leadership of their party.

Reformers in the church

B. THE REFORMING COUNCILS

The means by which it was proposed to reform the church was a general council. A council, according to the old theory, was the supreme authority in the church. The papacy being hopeless, the reformers revived this theory as an instrument of their aims. It was first employed at the council of Pisa, in a vain effort to heal the Schism. Shortly afterwards the council of Constance was called, and it succeeded in restoring the unity of the church.

Attempt at reform in the council of Constance

But many in the council meant to do much more than this. They meant to secure what they called "the reformation of the church in head and members." The council was as able, intelligent and earnest a body of men as could have been gathered at that time. It was thoroughly representative of the church, and of the civil power of Europe as well, for almost all the civil rulers attended in person or by ambassador. No doubt a majority of its members were genuinely determined to secure the much-needed reforms. They had powerful support through the personal presence of the emperor Sigismund, who was strongly of this mind.

Failure

Yet, though there was much talk about reform, the council after three years' sitting adjourned with nothing done. The papal politicians played a shrewd game of opposition to any change that would injure their interests. National jealousies divided the reformers. But the real cause of the failure was that there was not among them enough character, enough moral enthusiasm and firmness of purpose to attain their object.

Council of Basel; failure again

A few years later the reformers had another chance, at the general council of Basel. But here again, though there was much talk of reform while the council dragged out its interminable length (1431-1449), nothing substantial was done.

What we learn from all this, and what some men then learned, was that reform of the church would not come by action of its existing organization. From that organization the hold of the powers of evil could not be broken, in spite of

the indignant demand of the public opinion of Europe. Reform must come by revolution, by a breaking of the organization.

VII. THE RENAISSANCE AS A PREPARATION FOR THE REFORMATION

Already a great movement was going on in the life of Europe which was to produce some of the energy needed for religious revolution. The fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the time of the Renaissance, that awakening of human nature whose power worked so widely and deeply that we need a word meaning re-birth to describe it. All the faculties of human nature were wonderfully quickened, and every part of human activity showed the results. The mind of man made splendid new conquests in every direction.

The Renaissance

Great geographical discoveries, among them those of Columbus, were made in east and west, and thus the true form and size of the earth were determined. Even more wonderful was Copernicus' discovery of the solar system, revolutionizing men's ideas about the universe in which they lived. In mechanical invention there were great achievements, by far the most influential of which was the making of the printing press (about 1450). By its use knowledge and ideas could be spread among men far more widely and rapidly than before. So the human mind was yet more awakened and energized for further advances, one of which was to be the Protestant Reformation. The Reforma-

Discoveries and inventions

tion could never have occurred in a time when books had to be made by writing.

Commerce and politics

The geographical discoveries produced a swift expansion of commerce and industry, and roused in the nations of Europe colonizing ambitions. In the sphere of politics the new life showed itself in the rapid development of the national life and power of France, Spain and England.

Revival of learning

One of the greatest causes of all this awakening was the bringing of the mind of Europe into contact with the culture and civilization of Greece and Rome, of which the Middle Ages were ignorant. This came about chiefly through the new knowledge of Greek, for centuries an unknown tongue in western Europe. Thus all the wonderful world of classic thought and literature and art was suddenly opened. The sight of it thrilled men and roused them to great achievements. The works of the Renaissance in art and literature, which include some of the world's most precious possessions, thus got their inspiration.

The Revival of Learning produced reformers

In this aspect of the Renaissance, which is called the Revival of Learning, we find a direct preparation for the coming reformation in religion. The discovery of Greek meant that men could now read the New Testament in the original. With the rejoicing enthusiasm which marked all their study of ancient literatures, many of the humanists, as the men of the Revival of Learning were called, entered into the study of the New Testament. There they saw face to face the divine ideal for the Christian Church; and as they compared this

with what they saw in the church about them, many of the humanists became ardent reformers. This took place especially in Germany, and also in France and England. John Colet of Oxford and the great New Testament scholar, Erasmus, represent this religious result of the Revival of Learning. Such men expounded Christianity according to the New Testament, and held up to scorn the evils of the church.

The Renaissance and the Reformation

These humanists of religious purpose greatly strengthened the spirit of reform in the church. They also caused an increase of the study of the Bible, and thus prepared reading men for a truer form of religion. Finally, the whole Renaissance movement, by its influence in opening and rousing men's minds and accustoming them to cast off old ideas and strike out into new paths, was a powerful forerunner of the coming change in religious ideas. Without it the Protestant Reformation could not have occurred.

VIII. SOCIAL UNREST AS A PREPARATION FOR THE REFORMATION

Social unrest in Germany

Another set of new forces did much to prepare the way for the Reformation—those of social unrest and revolt. What is to be said here applies chiefly to Germany. For over a hundred years, from about 1400, the peasants of southern Germany were in continual, angry protest against the oppressions of their lords, the nobles whose lands they tilled. Repeatedly this resulted in open, armed revolts. In these movements the peasants

were often joined by the poorer workingmen of the towns and by all sorts of men who felt that the existing laws did not protect their rights. Two religious elements were constantly present in this social disturbance. One was a fierce hatred of the priests on account of their exactions of money and their refusal to do anything for the relief of the oppressed classes. The other was an appeal to Christian principles of social justice.

Toward the end of the fifteenth century the unrest became more acute and the revolts more frequent. Though put down with savage cruelty, they kept breaking out. A sudden rise of prices and a succession of scanty harvests made things still worse. Thus in the years just before the Reformation, Germany, particularly in the south, was seething with the bitter discontent of the poor, often flaming up angrily into desperate rebellion. In this discontent there were, as we have seen, elements favorable to a new order in religion; and the whole situation made many ready to welcome such a revolution as the Reformation was.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Explain how the medieval church failed in these ways:
   a. The corruption of the clergy.
   b. The degradation of religion.
   c. The neglect of the needs of the people.
2. Describe the Cathari. In what ways was their movement a protest against conditions in the church?
3. Describe the Waldenses. What was their attitude toward the church?

4. Describe the "Brethren." Where were they strongest?

5. Describe the downfall of Boniface VIII.

6. What was the "Babylonish Captivity"? How did it affect the power of the papacy?

7. What was the Great Schism? How was it ended?

8. Describe Wyclif's conflict with the church?

9. Who were the Lollards?

10. Why did the church proceed against John Hus? Describe his death. What was the result of his career?

11. How much desire for reform existed in the church in this period? What efforts were made to secure reform?

12. What was the Renaissance?

13. What was the relation of the printing press to the Reformation?

14. What was the Revival of Learning? How was it related to the Reformation?

15. How did the general influence of the Renaissance prepare for the Reformation?

16. Describe the social unrest in Germany in the fifteenth century. How was it a preparation for the Reformation?

READING

Adams: "European History," pp. 224-254, on the political situation; pp. 259-282, on the Renaissance.

Workman: "The Church of the West in the Middle Ages," Vol. II, ch. V, on subjects of Sections II and III of this chapter; ch. VIII, on Boniface VIII.

Lea: "The Inquisition of the Middle Ages," Vol. I, on medieval dissenters.

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Schaff: "History of the Christian Church," Vol. V, Part I, ch. X, on medieval dissenters; Part II, chs. I, II, on the papacy and the councils; chs. III, IV, on men of

reforming spirit; ch. V, on Wyclif and Hus; ch. VIII, on the Renaissance.

Creighton: "History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome," Introduction, ch. II, on the papacy at Avignon; Book I, on the Schism, the council of Pisa, and Wyclif; Book II, on the council of Constance and Hus; Book III, on the council of Basel.

Sergeant: "John Wyclif."

Lutzow: "John Hus."

Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, Book I, ch. III, on the Renaissance; ch. IV, on social unrest in Germany; ch. VI, on the humanists as reformers.

CHAPTER XI

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION: REVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

(A. D. 1517-1648)

I. THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION

A. THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The emperor Charles V

The ruler who had most to do with the Reformation in its early stages was the emperor Charles V. By right of descent king of Spain, then one of the strongest nations of Europe, and also lord of the Netherlands, he was elected to the throne of the German Empire in 1519. Thus he was a monarch of extraordinary power.

Political condition of Germany

But we must not let the title "emperor" lead us to think that in Germany he had absolute authority. Had he had this, the Reformation would have been crushed in its beginnings. The emperor did not rule directly in any part of Germany, except in certain towns called "free cities." At the time of the Reformation Germany—which included the western part of the modern Austro-Hungarian Empire as well as the modern German Empire—had not yet become a nation under a strong central government, as had England, France and Spain. The German, or Holy Roman Empire, consisted of many separate territories, great and small. Their rulers, who bore various

titles, such as elector, landgrave, margrave, acknowledged the emperor as their feudal lord; but each of them governed his own territory, nearly in independence. These rulers, called the "princes," figure largely in Reformation history. The empire had a kind of central authority in the "Diet," which was an assembly comprising all the princes and the great nobles, the men who held lands as vassals of the emperor. We shall several times notice the actions of the Imperial Diet.

Character and religion of Charles V

Charles V was by blood German and Spanish, but by nature altogether Spanish, never at home with the Germans or understanding them. In religious belief he was thoroughly a man of the Middle Ages. He sincerely desired a thorough moral reform of the church, and steadily worked for it. He was not subservient to the Pope, and held that a general council was the highest authority in the church. But he was altogether opposed to any change in doctrine, nor could he ever comprehend why anyone should want any change. It helps to understand him if we remember that when, after reigning thirty-six years, he saw his plans concerning the religion of his empire going to ruin, he laid aside his crown and spent the rest of his days in a monastery. He was slow, cool, patient, persistent; sometimes cruel, sometimes double-faced; always set against new religious ideas. Such was the chief antagonist of the Reformation in Germany.

His political situation in Europe

Charles had a rival, sometimes enemy and sometimes ally, in Francis I, the brilliant, ambitious

king of France. He had a dangerous enemy on the other side, in the Turks, who had captured Constantinople in 1453, and then for a century often spread terror through Germany by their fierce attacks on the eastern frontier of the empire. He had varying political relations, now friendly and now hostile, with the Popes; for the Popes of his time were frankly in politics, like other rulers. All these features of the emperor's situation affected greatly the progress of the Reformation.

B. HOW LUTHER BECAME A REFORMER

Luther's youth

Martin Luther (1483-1546) was born of peasant stock at Eisleben, in Saxony. His father was an iron miner. He was very poor in Luther's childhood, but he got on in the world so that he was able to give his son a first-rate education. Luther's religious training included much of the simple household piety of Germany in the Middle Ages,[1] and also much medieval superstition. In his childhood, as in his manhood, he was deeply religious, although also entirely natural and cheerful. At eighteen he went to the most famous university of Germany, that of Erfurt, intending, as his father desired, to study law. Four years he spent in studies preliminary to his professional training, going deeply into medieval philosophy. He was a great student, a great talker and debater, very sociable and very musical. He was just about to begin his work in law; and then suddenly, to the

[1] See Vol. I, pp. 151-152.

He becomes a monk

great disappointment of his father and his friends, he became a monk, entering the Erfurt convent of the Augustinians, then the best order in the church. He had become anxious about his salvation; as he says, he "doubted of himself." For a medieval man, the surest road to salvation was the monastic life. This way Luther took, sacrificing the world for the sake of his soul.

His struggle in the monastery

In the monastery he had an agonizing spiritual struggle. He had gone there to seek salvation, but he did not find the peace and assurance of being right with God for which he had sacrificed so much. He heaped on himself fasts, watchings and scourgings, and sought from his confessor absolution for every slightest sin, until he was told to moderate his austerities and confess less often. He was in every way a model monk, and became famous for his piety in his order and even in the world outside. Still he was burdened with a sense of sinfulness and of being far from God. The significance of all this is that he tried out what was, according to the teaching of the medieval church, the most religious way of life, and found it utterly unprofitable.

His discovery of the truth of justification by faith

From this struggle, in which he later said he endured such anguish as no pen could describe, he was delivered by discovering a central truth of the gospel. Toward this he was helped by the teaching of the Vicar-General of his order, a good man named Staupitz. The final revelation came one day about 1508, as he was reading the Epistle to the Romans in his cell, and came on the words,

"The just shall live by faith." Then he saw the truth toward which he had been groping, the truth that his salvation would be gained, not by the performance of work commanded by the church, but by trust in God through Christ. That inward peace, that assurance of being right with God, for which he had labored and suffered, became his through faith in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Professor Lindsay points out that the same truth was the inspiration of four great Christians, Paul, Augustine, Francis, Luther. He thus expresses the truth: "That trust in the all-merciful God, who has revealed himself in Jesus Christ, creates companionship with God, and that all other things are nothing in comparison with this fellowship." [1] This is the truth of justification by faith. Opposed to this is the idea taught by the medieval church, that men can attain salvation only by actions, works, which the divinely authorized church requires. But Luther knew that his revelation was true, because in his life-and-death spiritual struggle he had come face to face with God. He had a foundation of personal experience of God which could not be shaken. It was this experience that made him able to be a reformer. What was needed to reform the church was a great new impulse of religious life, and Luther had this to give because he had obtained it by personal contact and communion with God.

How Luther knew that this was a truth

It surprises us to find that for several years

[1] Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, p. 204.

He remained in the church several years

there was no outward change in Luther's life. He remained a monk, and rose to high position in his order. He studied theology in the convent, preparing himself to be a teacher.

Roman visit

Being sent to Rome on business of the order, he visited and prayed at many churches and places sacred to apostles and saints and martyrs. He saw many relics, and heard unquestioningly stories of their miraculous powers. In order to deliver his grandfather from purgatory, he followed the pilgrims' custom by climbing on his knees the Scala Santa, the stairs said to have come from Pilate's house, repeating the Lord's Prayer at every step. At the top there flashed into his mind the question, "Who knows whether this is true?"[1] But this Roman visit did not cause in him any serious doubt as to the authority of the church. Though the great truth which he had discovered was contrary to the church's teaching and made a priestly church unnecessary, he did not yet realize this. He made no break with the church, but continued his work within it.

Teaching and preaching in Wittenberg

Having completed his theological studies, Luther was appointed professor in the university of Wittenberg in Saxony. Thither he went, making his

[1] This account of the incident of the Scala Santa was given by Luther in a sermon which has recently been discovered in manuscript at Zwickau. (See Buchwald's article in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, quoted in the "British Weekly" for December 28, 1911.) Other accounts of the incident are current, but this discovery seems to settle the matter. Certainly the story that as he was climbing the stairs he suddenly learned the truth of justification by faith, and then and there became a reformer, is untrue.

abode in the Augustinian convent. His home for the rest of his life was to be at Wittenberg. Besides giving theological lectures, he preached a great deal. His lectures were of a novel kind, being expositions of the Scriptures, especially of Paul's Epistles, instead of repetition of the teachings of the medieval theologians. His inspiring teaching and preaching, and the well-known goodness of his life, drew students from all over Germany, and made him a power in the city. During his lectures on the Scriptures, he came to understand better what the truth which he had discovered meant in regard to the authority of the church. Soon something happened which forced him to speak his mind about this.

Tetzel's indulgences

Into the country near Wittenberg there came in 1517 a man named Tetzel, employed by the Archbishop of Mainz to sell indulgences issued by the Pope. Many people from the town went out and bought them. An indulgence was a lightening of the pains of purgatory;[1] but many thought, and in this case they were encouraged by Tetzel's advertisements of his wares to think, that by buying indulgences they obtained forgiveness. Through what was said to him in the confessional, Luther found out that the traffic in indulgences was leading people altogether astray about God and sin, and seriously weakening their moral lives. He decided that he must strike at this wrong.

In medieval universities those who wished to advocate certain opinions would post up publicly

[1] See Vol. I, p. 129.

"theses," statements of their ideas, and invite all comers to debate on them. On October 31, 1517, the day before All Saints' Day, when great crowds always attended the Castle Church of Wittenberg, Luther posted on its door ninety-five theses concerning indulgences. In them he declared that the church could remit only what it had imposed, that is, sentences of discipline, that indulgences were worthless to affect souls in purgatory or remove guilt, and that the repentant Christian had his forgiveness straight from God, without any indulgences.

The Ninety-five Theses

Though Luther did not fully see it, the theses were a blow at the center of the power of the church and of the Pope, its head. For they denied the church's claim of power to mediate between God and man, and confer on man God's forgiveness. Therefore, while copies of the theses were selling in Germany as fast as the printers could make them, Pope Leo X proceeded against this rebellious monk. He first summoned Luther to Rome, which would have meant death. But the Elector of Saxony, concerned for the famous professor of his university, protected him by a demand that his case be heard in Germany. There followed conferences with papal legates, which did not move Luther from his stand. On the contrary, at a debate in Leipsic to which he was challenged by a defender of the church, he declared, as the result of studies which he had been making, that the Pope had no divine authority, and that church councils were not infallible. He

Papal action against Luther

realized that by these statements he had broken irrevocably with the church.

Luther's appeal to Germany

Having thus come out into the open, Luther moved forward rapidly and exultantly. In an enormous literary activity he put his case before the German people, who had already shown widespread sympathy with him. One of his publications of this time was perhaps his greatest work, the appeal "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation." This was "a call to all Germany to unite against Rome." Luther denied that the Pope and the clergy had any supernatural priestly powers, thus striking at the roots of the authority which had held Europe for centuries in fearful obedience. He asserted that all Christians are priests, having access to God by faith. He denied that the Pope only could interpret Scripture. The Scripture, he said, could be interpreted by any true believer. He described and denounced the corruptions of the papacy, especially the avarice and extortions of the Popes and the willingness of the papal court of appeal to do anything for a bribe. Finally he outlined a plan for a national German church, independent and reformed. Four thousand copies of this book were sold within a week. People began to see that here at last was the man who would bring about that reform in the church which so many desired. They saw also that there could be Christianity without obedience to the Pope; for Luther was widely known and revered as a devout and good man.

Excommunication threatened

While this book was being issued (August, 1520) there was published in Germany the papal bull of excommunication which Luther had been expecting. It commanded him and his followers to recant his heresies within sixty days, and ordered that if they did not they were to be treated as heretics—that is, arrested and put to death. All the faithful were bidden burn Luther's books, and the papal legates to Germany did burn some.

Luther burns the Pope's bull

But burning was a game two could play at. On December 10, 1520, a notice was posted in Wittenberg by Philip Melanchthon. He had come there as professor of Greek two years before, being then only twenty-one, and had soon thrown himself into Luther's cause. This notice invited the students to attend, that day, a burning of "the impious books of the papal decrees and scholastic theologians." Before a great crowd of students, professors, and citizens, Luther threw on a fire the books, and last of all the Pope's bull. In its mingling of humor and sublime courage this whole affair was characteristic of him. Sublime indeed the courage was. A poor monk, upheld only by his faith in God, defied and laughed at the power which men had long thought was authorized of God to open and shut the doors of eternal life. A new age in history began that day.

Luther is excommunicated and brought before the Diet

Next month the Pope issued the threatened final sentence, excommunicating Luther and condemning him to all the penalties of heresy. It remained to give effect to this by the power of civil gov-

ernment, that is, to put him to death. Thus the case had to go to the Imperial Diet. The next Diet met this same year (1521) at Worms. It was the first Diet of the new emperor Charles V. The Pope was pressing him to secure Luther's condemnation, and his own religious views caused him to need little urging. Cited to appear at the Diet, Luther went, believing that he was going to his death, and unafraid. But the cheering crowds that made his long, slow journey like a royal progress showed him that he was not alone. He had been gaining friends and followers rapidly, in all classes of his people, nobles, burghers, scholars, the poor. When he stood before the Diet, he was no longer a solitary monk; he was the champion of a great national party demanding a German church free from Roman rule and reformed.

He now is head of a strong movement in Germany

Brought before the Diet, he was confronted with certain books written by him, and asked if he would recant their contents. The next day he made his great answer and pleaded his cause in the presence of all of the most powerful men of his country. "Before him was the Emperor and his brother Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria . . . and beside them, seated, all the Electors and the great Princes of the Empire, lay and ecclesiastical, among them four Cardinals. All round him standing . . .the Counts, Free Nobles and Knights of the Empire, and the delegates of the great cities, were closely packed together. Ambassadors . . . of almost all the countries of Europe were there to swell the crowd—ready to report the issue of this

Luther at Worms

momentous day."[1] Luther spoke at length, quietly and confidently, yet somehow with a power that thrilled all hearts; and he refused to move from his position.

His final stand

At the end the emperor, through an officer, put to him one question, whether he would recant his denials of certain decisions of councils—a question involving the whole matter of the authority of the church. The answer was: "It is impossible for me to recant unless I am proved to be in the wrong by the testimony of Scripture or by evident reasoning; I cannot trust either the decisions of Councils or of Popes, for it is plain that they have not only erred, but have contradicted each other. My conscience is bound to the Word of God, and it is neither safe nor honest to act against one's conscience. God help me! Amen."[2] The Diet broke up amid much confusion. The Spaniards shouted, "To the fire with him!" But the Germans gathered round Luther, "and as they passed from the hall they all at once, and Luther in the midst of them, thrust forward arms and raised hands high above their heads in the way that a German knight was accustomed to do when he had unhorsed an antagonist in the tourney.[3]

Condemned but safe

He was a victor indeed. After some of his stanchest supporters had left, the Diet, under pressure from the emperor, passed the Edict of Worms, outlawing Luther and declaring destruc-

[1] Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, p. 286.
[2] *Ibid* p. 290.
[3] *Ibid* p. 292.

tion against his sympathizers. But Germany scouted the edict, and no serious attempt was ever made to carry it out against Luther. He stood forth now as the head of a national religious movement which he had created by his brave witness for the truth as God had revealed it to him.

C. THE EARLY YEARS OF THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION

Spread of Lutheranism

From about 1520 Luther's teachings spread rapidly in Germany. Most of the monks of his Augustinian order, and many of other orders left their cloisters to preach them. Many parish priests became Lutherans, and often their congregations followed them. A number of bishops were favorable to the new doctrines. If clergymen were not found to preach, laymen did. Luther's books had an enormous circulation and influence. Many humanists employed their trained minds in advocating this new and better Christianity. The Lutheran teachings were made plain to the common people by a great number of popular tracts and cartoons. The people of the free cities, where the way had been prepared by the work of the "Brethren"[1] in preaching evangelical religion and circulating the Bible, and by the spread of the teachings of John Hus, gave especially enthusiastic welcome to the gospel of the reformer.

The Lutheran movement spread like a revival of religion. In fact this movement (as also the

[1] See p. 8.

Protestant Reformation everywhere) was fundamentally a revival of religion. Luther had in himself a great fresh power of religious life, and through the channel of his teachings, new yet old as Christianity, new religious life came to his people. By his great doctrine of the priesthood of all believers he freed men from the fear, and hence from the power of the medieval church, and led them to a better religion. Every man, he showed them, could have fellowship with God by faith, without the mediation of the church's priesthood. He could confess his sins to God, and receive from God forgiveness. For his salvation he did not need the priests' rites, and therefore he need not fear or obey the priests. Every man could get right with God, could be justified, by faith, without conforming to the church's requirements. Every man could understand the Scriptures by the enlightenment of faith, and there learn God's will, without the teaching of the church. Through this open door into the true Christian religion the German people thronged.

Luther's central doctrine, the priesthood of all believers

While Lutheranism was advancing, the Pope was not idle. Papal diplomats strove to form an alliance of the princes who held the old religion, with a view to crushing the Reformation. Their efforts got unexpected help from the Peasants' War of 1525. This was the culmination of the long years of discontent and revolt of which we have spoken. Risings occurred in many places, and almost all Germany was in uproar. The poor peasants were crushed down again with iron hands,

The Peasants' War makes some princes hostile to the Reformation

but their revolt left its effect on the religious situation. The spirit of the Reformation had been strong among the peasants. Therefore some of the princes concluded that the new religious ideas would bring revolution in their train, and determined to oppose them. Thus it came about that the rulers of Germany divided into two camps.

The party of the Reformation included others besides Lutherans. Another movement of revolt from the church had arisen in German Switzerland under the leadership of Huldreich Zwingli.[1] This had spread into southern Germany, so that some princes and free cities were under Zwingli's influence more than under Luther's. In the Diet of 1526 the Lutherans and Zwinglians prevailed, and secured a decision that each ruler might determine what the religion of his domain should be. Forthwith some princes began to reorganize the churches of their territories, with worship and preaching according to the Reformation teaching. The emperor did not oppose this, because he was then at war against the Pope and Francis I. So while its enemies quarreled, the Reformation gained.

Lutherans and Zwinglians at the Diet of 1526

But in the Diet of 1529, at Speyer, the Roman Catholics, as we may henceforth call them, were the stronger, because political disputes had weakened the Lutherans. Its decision forbade any further spread of Lutheranism, and gave no toleration at all to Zwinglianism. Against this the Lutheran and Zwinglian members of the Diet made

The Protestants

[1] See Chapter XII.

a formal protest, because of which the supporters of the Reformation were henceforth often called "Protestants."

D. THE EMPEROR AND THE REFORMATION

While affairs were in this unsatisfactory state, the emperor came to Germany, for the first time since the Diet of Worms, determined to settle the religious difficulty which was convulsing his empire. He had overcome his enemies, and his hands were free. At a magnificent Diet in Augsburg, 1530, the question was discussed. As a statement of their views, the Lutherans presented the famous Augsburg Confession, which is now one of the doctrinal standards of Lutherans everywhere. Melanchthon, who had become a leader second only to Luther, was its principal author. Attempts were made by the emperor to secure a doctrinal agreement of the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans, with a view to bringing the latter back into the old church. This proving hopeless, the Roman Catholic majority of the Diet decreed that after April, 1531, Protestantism was to be put down by war.

Augsburg Confession

The Diet declares war on Protestantism

But it was long before the Protestants had to fight the emperor for their faith. For first the Turks, who opportunely attacked his Austrian territory, and later disagreement with the Pope, who refused to bring about the reforms in the church which the emperor demanded, stayed his hands from war against them. Meanwhile the Reformation advanced with giant strides, and it seemed

likely that almost all Germany would become Lutheran. At length Charles, having failed in repeated efforts to secure a return of the Protestants, and being unwilling in his bigotry to sanction any breach in the church, prepared to crush their cause.

E. WHAT LUTHER ACCOMPLISHED IN GERMANY

Before the war came Luther died, in his sixty-third year. For nearly thirty years he had been the head of one of the greatest religious movements in history. By constant preaching and the training of preachers, by writing many books, by personal counsel and correspondence, he had given it leadership and inspiration. He had done even more by translating the whole Bible from the originals into the language of his people. This had been the Reformation's greatest source of power. It is still the Bible of Germany. Of kingly nature, though of peasant birth, Luther had held together many strong men and kept the cause moving forward. He had made mistakes, but under God he had worked wonders. In these years he had seen "the much larger portion of the German Empire . . . won for evangelical religion—a territory to be roughly described as a great triangle, whose base was the shores of the Baltic Sea from the Netherlands on the west to the eastern limits of East Prussia, and whose apex was Switzerland."[1] Within these lines, to be sure, was some Roman Catholic territory, but outside them were some

[1] Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, pp. 386-387.

Protestant strongholds. In the churches of this vast region the gospel was preached to the people in their own tongue. In pulpits and pews were copies of Luther's German Bible. Hymns of the gospel and Psalms were sung in German. Luther himself had written some of these, by one of which, "A mighty fortress is our God," his heroic soul has inspired Christians everywhere. Schools were established in connection with the churches, for one of Luther's great interests was the education of the children of his people. Over the churches were educated and faithful ministers. Church government had been reorganized, each prince controlling the church in his territory. Within thirty years the Christian Church in Germany had been reformed as no one would have thought possible.

F. THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF AUGSBURG

The emperor's war against Protestantism began in 1546. At first he was victorious on all sides, but before long Maurice of Saxony drove him out of Germany. Disheartened by this and other misfortunes, Charles put his German affairs into the hands of his brother Ferdinand. Under his rule there was made at the Diet of 1555 the Peace of Augsburg, which provided that every ruler should decide what the religion of his land should be. By this, Lutheranism was at last acknowledged as legal within the German Empire, and the fruits of the great German revolt from Rome were made secure.

G. LUTHER'S WORK OUTSIDE OF GERMANY

Luther's influence in Europe

Luther's influence was felt in many countries besides his own. From the time he posted the Ninety-five Theses the story of his defiance of the church spread far and wide. His writings were very extensively circulated, in spite of the efforts of inquisitors. Thus he had power in Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, England, Scotland, France, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and even in Spain and Italy. In some of these countries movements of religious reform had started before he stood forth as a reformer. They might have come to something without him. But the inspiration which he gave greatly strengthened all of them. Calvin's influence, rather than Luther's, dominated in the Reformation in several of these countries. The English Reformation was worked out on its own lines. But in the Scandinavian lands the Reformation was a purely Lutheran movement.

Lutheran Reformation in Scandinavia

In Denmark Lutheran preachers, at first German and later native, worked from 1519. The national church was made Protestant and Lutheran in 1536, by action of Christian III, king of Denmark and Norway, and of a National Assembly. The church in Norway was made Lutheran in 1539 by royal authority. Three Swedes who had studied at Wittenberg came back to their own country in 1520 and preached Lutheranism with great results. Seven years later the national Diet decreed that the church in Sweden should be reformed.

In Hungary a strong Lutheran church grew up in the sixteenth century, though there was a still stronger Calvinistic church.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What power did Charles V have in Germany? What were his religious views?
2. Describe Luther's life, to his entrance into the monastery. Why did he become a monk?
3. Describe his spiritual struggle in the monastery. What was the truth that gave him relief?
4. Explain what justification by faith is. What is the opposite idea?
5. Describe Luther's visit to Rome.
6. How much was Luther known before the Reformation?
7. Why did he attack Tetzel's selling of indulgences? What was the date of the Ninety-five Theses? What did they assert?
8. What did Luther say in the book "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation"? How did the German people feel toward him?
9. How did Luther treat the Pope's bull of excommunication?
10. Why did Luther appear at the Diet of Worms? How did he state his position there? What was the outcome of his appearance at the Diet?
11. Describe the spread of Lutheranism.
12. How did the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers set people free from the medieval church?
13. Who were the first "Protestants"?
14. What action did Charles V take toward the Reformation?
15. How far in Germany did the Lutheran movement spread? What changes in worship and church government resulted from it?
16. What was the outcome of Charles V's war against

the Protestants? What were the terms of the Peace of Augsburg?

17. Describe Luther's influence outside Germany.

READING

Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, on all subjects mentioned in this chapter (see Contents).

McGiffert: "Martin Luther."

Preserved Smith: "Life and Letters of Martin Luther."

Adams: "European History," pp. 303-316.

Henderson: "Short History of Germany," Vol. I, chs. X-XV.

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Vedder: "The Reformation in Germany."

Sohm: "Outlines of Church History," Division III, ch. I.

Bax: "The Peasants' War."

CHAPTER XII

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION: REVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

(CONTINUED)

(A. D. 1517-1648)

II. THE REFORMED SIDE OF PROTESTANTISM

Besides Germany, all the other nations of western Europe, including even Spain and Italy, received religious awakenings, varying in strength, in the sixteenth century. All of them had been more or less prepared for the Reformation by the same forces which prepared Germany for it—protest against conditions in the church, patriotic jealousy of papal interference in national religious affairs, and the new life of the Renaissance. In Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, Scotland and England religious revolutions took place and Protestant churches were formed. All of these, except that of England,[1] are called the "Reformed" churches. They had in common certain features by which they differed from the Lutheran churches. Here we see the two great divisions of Protestantism, the Reformed and the Lutheran. What their differences were we shall find as we go on.

[1] The English Reformation had important connections with the Reformed side of Protestantism, but in other important respects stands by itself.

A. THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND UNDER ZWINGLI

Switzerland in the sixteenth century was a confederation of thirteen little self-governing states, called "cantons." Its people had a strong spirit of independence and of democracy.

Zwingli's youth

When Martin Luther was fifty-two days old, Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531) was born in Wildhaus, a hamlet in eastern Switzerland. Because of the interest taken in him by his uncle, the parish priest, he had a first-rate schooling and then went to the universities of Vienna and Basel. His education was received largely from humanist teachers, men representing the new learning and new thinking of the Renaissance, and he was molded in all his intellectual life by these influences. So he grew up to be of keen, open mind, eagerly welcoming the new ideas that were abroad on all subjects. Here we see a difference between him and Luther, who was educated chiefly under medieval influences, and hence was less inclined to radical changes. Another difference between them was that Zwingli had in his youth no deep religious experience. He became a priest, but only because that was natural to one of clerical family connections.

His movement toward evangelical ideas

At Glarus, his first parish, he continued to study the Bible and theology in the light of the new learning. When Erasmus' Greek New Testament came out in 1516, borrowing a copy, he wrote the Epistles of Paul all out by hand, and constantly read this volume. A residence as priest at Ein-

siedeln, a great resort of pilgrims, bred in him deep disgust with the senseless superstitions encouraged by the church. Thus during more than ten years he was moving gradually toward evangelical or Reformation ideas, because he was finding them more satisfactory to his mind than the teachings of the medieval church. In these same years Luther in the Erfurt monastery was moving toward the same goal by another path, that is, by making practical trial of the older teachings and finding them powerless to save his soul.

In 1519 Zwingli's growing fame as a preacher caused him to be called to the important town of Zurich. In this same year he first came under Luther's influence, which greatly strengthened him in his convictions; and his religious life was deepened during a severe illness. He now boldly preached his beliefs, and in a book published in 1522 he openly revolted from the papacy. Because of the disturbances created by his opponents, the Council of Zurich held a public disputation in order to settle the religious controversy. For this Zwingli wrote a statement of his views. This contained the fundamental principle of the Reformation—the priesthood of all believers. Zwingli said that men are saved by faith in God through Christ, not by works required by the church. He exalted the authority of the Bible above that of the church. He attacked the primacy of the Pope, the mass, and priestly celibacy. In the debate on these points Zwingli had it all his own way. The Council voted in his favor and encouraged him to go farther.

His revolt from the papacy

By this action the canton of Zurich, as well as Zwingli, broke with the papacy.

The reformation in Zurich

Zwingli then went ahead with the reformation of religion in the canton. He moved slowly, explaining his plans carefully to the people in sermons, and securing the approval of the government for all changes. Gradually worship and religious customs and preaching were altered to suit the Reformation conception of Christianity. The climax came in 1525, in the holding, by order of the Council, of a communion service instead of the mass in the Great Minster. The Reformation had been accomplished in Zurich. Under Zwingli's leadership greater changes in worship were made than under Luther's. Luther, naturally conservative, changed no more than evangelical religious ideas required; for instance, the altar cross remained on the communion table. Zwingli, altogether a man of the new age, wished to remove all that savored of the old religious order.

Spread of the Reformation in German Switzerland

From Zurich the Reformation spread rapidly over most of German Switzerland. Zwingli's influence did much, but in every canton men arose to take the lead, and the people welcomed them. In every one the Reformation was accomplished by action of a government representing the people, as in Zurich, and its form was in general governed by Zwingli's ideas. His influence spread also in southern Germany, as we have seen. Thus we have the Zwinglian Reformation, side by side with the Lutheran.

After the famous "Protest" at Speyer in 1529,[1] it was evident that the Protestants would some day have to fight for their faith. Hence efforts were made to unite the Lutheran and Zwinglian princes, cities and cantons of Germany and Switzerland in a defensive league. An obstacle appeared in Luther's objection to certain of Zwingli's ideas. In the hope of getting rid of this, a conference of the two leaders and some of their friends was arranged. They agreed on fourteen out of fifteen articles stating the chief matters of the Christian faith, but differed on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Luther had, of course, rejected the mediæval idea that the bread and wine are changed into the flesh and blood of Christ. But he held that "the true body and the true blood of Christ are received by the communicants, . . . in and together with the bread and wine."[2] Zwingli, radical here as everywhere, held that the sacrament is a memorial of the Lord's death and nothing more. Luther was so much opposed to this that he even felt that he could not approve the alliance of Lutherans and Zwinglians.

Disagreement of Luther and Zwingli

Here began the first of the many divisions of Protestantism, into the Lutheran and the "Reformed" branches. Later the Lutherans and Zwinglians of Germany united for a time in the war against Charles V. But these two Reformation movements never joined. While other things separating Lutherans and Reformed developed

Division of Lutheran and Reformed

[1] See pp. 37-38.

[2] Sohm: "Outlines of Church History," p. 176.

later, this difference over the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was enough to cause the permanent division.

Zwingli's death

Zwingli's noble death came only two years after this conference with Luther. War arose between the four Swiss cantons which had remained Romanist and the Protestant cantons. In the second of two short campaigns Zwingli, who with his patriotic ardor had gone into the field, fell in battle (1531). Though by no means so great a man as Luther, he was a brave and faithful servant of the gospel, and a wise, inspiring leader. He did an abiding work for the reformation of Christianity in his country.

B. THE GENEVAN REFORMATION UNDER CALVIN

Calvin's youth

Not long after Zwingli's loss a far greater man came to take the leadership of Swiss Protestantism. John Calvin (1509-1564) was born twenty-six years after Luther, so that he belongs to the second generation of the Reformation. He was a Frenchman, born at Noyon in Picardy. His father was a prosperous lawyer, associated with the nobility and higher clergy of his district. John had his early education in the household of a noble family along with its sons, and this social training made him "always the reserved, polished French gentleman." Being destined for the priesthood, he was sent to Paris when he was fourteen, for studies preparatory to a theological training. Five years later his father decided that his son should study law, which he did at Orléans and Bourges.

His father died in 1531, and Calvin determined to follow his own desires and prepare himself to be a man of letters. Accordingly, he returned to Paris to study under its eminent humanist teachers.

His conversion to Protestantism

Just when and where and how Calvin became a Protestant we do not know. The change was the result of the influences of the new learning and of Luther's teachings. It came suddenly, and was accompanied by a great deepening of his religious life. He was a declared Protestant in 1533, and late in that year, along with other Protestants, fled from Paris before a sudden outbreak of persecution.

The Institutes

During an unsettled life of three years he stayed awhile at Basel, and there published a book which gave him at twenty-six a position as one of the leaders of Protestantism. This was his famous "Institutes." In this first edition it was a small book, not the theological treatise that it later became, but a systematic statement of Christian truth as held by Protestants, intended for popular use. Hitherto there had been nothing of this kind. Calvin's book was very useful to the Protestants as an instrument of their efforts to win converts, and as a vindication of their beliefs from false charges about them.

Geneva before Calvin

On a journey in 1536, Calvin spent a night in Geneva. This was a city of about thirteen thousand people, prosperous, but of low moral tone. The Reformation had recently triumphed in it, under the leadership of the gallant French preacher,

William Farel. The city had won its freedom in a war against its bishop, who was also its feudal lord, and at the same time had declared itself Protestant. But Farel saw that what had been done was only a beginning, and that the loose-living and disorderly city urgently needed thorough constructive work in religion and morals. He recognized that he was not the man to direct this. While he was anxiously wondering what to do, he heard that the distinguished young French scholar and reformer Calvin was in the city for the night. Calvin's great intellectual gifts marked him out as the man whom Geneva needed. But his desire to continue in a scholar's life made him refuse Farel's entreaties. Only by a prayer that God would curse him if he refused the call of the city's need did Farel prevail upon him to devote himself to work there.

His first ministry in Geneva and banishment

Calvin's work in Geneva soon met disaster. Many of the people were not at heart in favor of the Reformation, and the opposition to him and Farel resulted in their banishment. Calvin then spent three years in Strasburg, as pastor of a church of French Protestants, exiled by persecution. Here he became acquainted with many Reformation leaders, and won recognition as one of the strongest among them.

His return and purpose

In Geneva things went from bad to worse. The better people of the city, who had learned his worth while he was with them, begged Calvin to return. Very reluctantly he took, in 1541, a place as one of the preachers of the city, the only office

he ever held. Though he came unwillingly, it was with a clear purpose to make Geneva a model Christian city, a community whose life was actually ruled by Christianity. But this was not to be for Geneva's sake solely or chiefly. Calvin meant that the city should be so Christianized in order that it might be a source of strength to Protestantism everywhere. He saw that the Roman Catholic Church would make a hard fight to regain what it had so far lost, and felt himself a general in a great campaign, with a duty to the whole cause.

Reorganization of the church

The means by which he proposed to make Geneva a Christian community were a thorough reorganization of the church and the establishment of a first-rate educational system. In regard to the church we need to remember that the Protestant Church of Geneva included the whole population. Before Calvin came the city had decided to be Protestant. Thus the reorganization of the church would affect all the people. Calvin's plans for the church provided for a carefully chosen, educated ministry, faithful in duties clearly marked out for it. By this he really created the office of the modern Protestant minister. He provided also for the effective exercise of discipline in the church, by the consistory. This was composed of the elders, whose duty it was to watch over the conduct of the people, and the ministers. He further arranged for the administration of charity in the city by the deacons.

Calvin's plans for education were inspired by

his conviction that true religion and education are inseparably associated. The maintenance of the reformed faith, he saw, required an educated people as well as an educated ministry. His plans issued in the establishment of a complete free school system, crowned by the Academy, an institution of university grade, in which courses in theology were given. Calvin was untiring in his efforts to get the best teachers for the schools of Geneva, and they soon became famous. To the Academy many foreigners came to study theology, and went back to be Protestant ministers. Educational system

During Calvin's ministry of twenty-three years he saw his purpose for Geneva in great part accomplished. The once dissolute and turbulent city became notable for order, for intelligent, earnest Christianity, and for wholesome moral conditions. These results were not attained by Calvin and his fellow workers without difficulty. Much opposition was aroused by the strict discipline of the consistory. At one time Calvin's work seemed near ruin, but his iron persistence and courage did not fail. His final victory was due partly to the many Protestant refugees from persecution in other countries who became citizens of Geneva. For the last nine years of his life he was undisputed ruler of the city. Calvin's success

Calvin's part in the execution for heresy of the Spanish physician Servetus has prevented some people from doing justice to his great work. For denial of the doctrine of the Trinity, Servetus was condemned to death, Calvin being one of his Calvin and Servetus

judges, and burned at the stake. Like almost everyone else in his time, Calvin had inherited from the Middle Ages the belief that heresy ought to be punished by death. We should be disobeying our Christian conscience if we did not condemn this belief and Calvin's action on it in this case. Yet we should remember that at the time his action was generally approved in Geneva and among Protestants everywhere. Liberty of conscience was largely a result of the Reformation, but it was slow in coming. Of the great Protestant leaders of Calvin's century only one, William of Orange, believed fully in religious freedom.

Benefits for Protestantism from Calvin's work in Geneva

By his work in Geneva, Calvin did three things for Protestantism in general. The moral life of the city was an example of what the reformed faith could do, and hence a power to spread it. Geneva was a citadel of refuge for those persecuted because of the Reformation. To this free city they came from France, Holland, Germany, Scotland and England, and found a congenial home. It was also a place of training for Protestant leaders. In its Academy and its general life were produced learned, fearless, devout ministers who went as missionaries of the Reformation into the countries where it had not yet prevailed. Many of the refugees returned to their countries strengthened by their stay in Geneva and their association with Calvin. One of these was John Knox.

His other services to Protestantism

By what he did in Geneva, and in two other ways, Calvin gave untold inspiration to Prot-

estantism everywhere and exerted a mighty influence upon its development. The second way was that of personal relations with Protestant leaders in many places, kept up mostly by an enormous correspondence. He was the active head of the Reformation in France, though he was never in the country after he was twenty-seven. He did similar work for other countries. The third way was that of his books, especially the "Institutes," which had a great circulation. Thus it came about that Calvin's ideas ruled in the Reformation movements of France, Holland, Scotland and parts of Germany, and had great influence in that of England. When we think of how much the world owes to the Protestants of these countries, we have a means of estimating its debt to John Calvin.

C. THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE

Rise of the Reformation

Early in the sixteenth century some of the religious ideas characteristic of the Reformation were expressed by French humanists who were enthusiastic students of the Scripture. But when Luther's books began to circulate in France, persecution fell upon all utterance of views like his. After some wavering, King Francis I in 1538 settled down to a steady, relentless campaign against Protestant teaching. About the same time Calvin became captain of the Protestant movement in his country, directing it through letters and through many young preachers sent from Geneva. In spite of constant bloodthirsty repression, the Reformation spread into almost every part of France.

In 1559 a national Protestant Church was organized. Its system of government was copied the next year by the Scottish reformers, and has spread to all the Presbyterian churches.

The Huguenots

About this time the Protestant movement changed its character somewhat. Many of the higher aristocracy had been won for the Reformation. These great nobles, some of them princes of the blood royal, would not meekly submit to persecution, and began to talk of armed revolt. Under their leadership the Protestant movement became not only an endeavor to spread evangelical religion, but also a struggle against the government for liberty to profess such religion. This change was marked by the name "Huguenot,"[1] henceforth borne by the French Protestants. War broke out in 1562, the Huguenots under Admiral Coligny and the Prince Condé fighting against the queen regent, Catherine de Medici. This was the first of the eight "Wars of Religion," which covered more than thirty years, and almost ruined France. The Roman Catholic party was kept cruelly determined all through by the Jesuits and King Philip II of Spain.

Wars of Religion

St. Bartholomew

Their spirit was shown in the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, in 1572. In a time of peace many Huguenot nobles were gathered in Paris for

[1] "Huguenot" was at first a nickname applied to the French Protestants by the Roman Catholics. Its origin was this: The Protestants of Tours used to meet by night at the Gate of King Hugo. The people of the town believed that King Hugo's spirit walked by night. So a monk said in a sermon that the Protestants ought to be called Huguenots, meaning kinsmen of Hugo, because like him they went out only at night.

the wedding of one of their chiefs, Henry of Navarre. In an attack made by night, at the instigation of Catherine de Medici, several thousand of them, including Admiral Coligny and most of the other leaders, were killed. Massacres were ordered in other parts of France, and altogether seventy thousand perished. The Pope sent congratulations to Catherine, and both thought they were done with the Huguenots.

But even from this fearful blow they rallied, and they fought on until in 1598 the wars ended with the famous Edict of Nantes, which gave a large measure of toleration to Protestantism.

Edict of Nantes

D. THE REFORMATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands were hereditary possessions of Charles V, so that he had full opportunity in them to show his hostility to the Reformation. When Lutheran views began to spread, he established the Inquisition, which soon showed results in the burning of two men in 1523, the first martyrs of the Reformation faith. For more than thirty years he fought Protestantism, killing thousands of his subjects. Still it lived and grew. Calvin's influence became dominant in it through the work of Reformed preachers from France and Geneva. Here as everywhere Calvinism proved most enduring. In 1555 Charles was succeeded in the Netherlands and in Spain by his son Philip II, who was even more bigoted and cruel. He so ruled that in a few years many in the provinces were ready to rebel against the Spanish tyranny which was vio-

The early Reformation and persecutions in the Netherlands

lating the liberties and draining the wealth of their country, and butchering its people for their faith. Not all of these patriots were Protestants, but most of them were. Thus the Protestant cause in the Netherlands became largely identified with the cause of national liberty.

William of Orange

The leader of this patriot party was William the Silent, Prince of Orange, a German, but also one of the great nobles of the Netherlands. Finding that Philip II was collecting troops to crush resistance to his rule, he retired for a while to Germany, to prepare for the war. He had been a Roman Catholic, though without bigotry, and in fact without much interest in religion. He now became a Protestant, and he gave himself much to the study of the Bible. This, and the thought of the martyrdoms which he had seen in the Netherlands, made him a profoundly religious man. Henceforth his course was ruled by the conviction that he was an instrument of God to save his adopted people from pitiless Spanish oppression. His nobility—and there was no nobler man in his century—lay in the fidelity with which he obeyed this call of God, and the unfailing largeness of his heart and mind. Alone among the religious leaders of his day, he strove all his life to secure freedom of religion for men of all creeds.

The war against Spain

In 1567 the Spanish army came into the Netherlands, led by that monster of cruelty, the Duke of Alva. His slaughter of Protestants irreparably weakened the cause of the Reformation in the southern Netherlands. The next year William the

Silent began the war of liberation, whose tale of indomitable valor and unsparing sacrifice is one of the noblest chapters of all history. Early in the war he saw that his cause could not triumph in the southern Netherlands, where the backbone of resistance to Spain had been broken by the stamping out of Protestantism. These southern provinces formed the beginnings of modern Belgium, a Roman Catholic country.

Victory of Holland

But the Protestants of the north had no yielding in them, and with them William threw in his lot. The turning point in the war came when the terrible siege of Leyden was relieved by the cutting of the dikes, letting the sea and the fighting ships of the Dutch sailors come up to the walls. Even after this there were desperate straits, but William went on unconquerably to build up a free nation. Though he fell in 1584 by the hand of an assassin, his example inspired his people "to maintain the good cause by God's help without sparing gold or blood." The good cause came to victory in 1609.

So arose the powerful Protestant nation of Holland. Its national church was formed early in the war, with a confession of faith and a form of government following the teaching of Calvin. From this church is descended the Reformed Church of America, sometimes called the Dutch Reformed Church.

The Arminians

Early in the seventeenth century there was a sharp theological difference among the Protestants of Holland. Some of the Dutch divines stated in

the most extreme terms the Calvinistic idea that God predestines some men to be saved and others to be lost, and put more emphasis on this than Calvin himself had put. A party arose which rejected this idea, and asserted that Christ died for all, and that God's purpose from the beginning was to save all believers in Christ. This was called the Arminian party, after Arminius, one of its leaders. To settle this dispute there was held in 1618 the Synod of Dort, which decided against the Arminians. But their teachings gained power in Holland, and spread widely in England and later in America.

E. THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

Scotland in the sixteenth century was an independent kingdom, much more friendly with France than with England. Its clergy had been peculiarly unworthy and incompetent. Hence it is no wonder that the Reformation teaching was eagerly received, in spite of the opposition of church and government and of some burnings of Protestant preachers.

Knox's early life

The great reformer of Scotland, John Knox, came upon the scene about 1546. Of his life before that we know little more than that he was born in 1515, entered the priesthood, was tutor to some sons of noble families, and then the companion of George Wishart, one of the martyred Protestants. His bold preaching of the gospel of the Reformation in 1546 led to his being captured by a French force sent to the help of the Scottish

Government. For nineteen months he endured the living death of a galley slave in France. He spent several years in England while the Reformation was in progress under Edward VI, greatly distinguishing himself as a preacher. On the outbreak of the persecution under Mary he fled to the continent. He spent some time in Geneva, where he was closely associated with Calvin. In traveling about he became acquainted with many of the continental Protestant leaders and their work.

Knox's return to Scotland

Meanwhile the Reformation was moving forward somewhat in Scotland, under the leadership of certain noblemen, called the "Lords of the Congregation." When Knox returned in 1559 to take the lead he found them ready to fight for the liberty of their faith against the Queen Regent. With French troops to help her, she would have conquered, had not Knox got English help from Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's secretary of state, who saw how necessary it was to have a Protestant Scotland as neighbor to a Protestant England. In 1560 an English fleet and army drove out the French, amid the rejoicing of the Scottish people.

The Reformation accomplished

Now the field was clear for Knox and his companions, and they labored mightily. Knox preached constantly and with fiery eloquence in St. Giles', Edinburgh, strengthening the cause with every word. Meanwhile a Scottish Reformed Church was organized with great rapidity, under his direction. He, with a few other ministers, wrote the noble "Scots Confession." This the

Parliament adopted as the creed of the national church, at the same time renouncing the authority of the Pope and forbidding mass. Knox was the chief author also of the Book of Discipline, which provided for a Presbyterian form of government in the church, following the plan of the French Protestant Church. In accordance with this, the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met in this same year 1560. The nation, in all classes, welcomed the new order almost unanimously, and the Reformation was accomplished.

Knox and Queen Mary

But what had been won had to be defended. In 1561 Mary, Queen of Scots, came from France to reign in her own country, openly determined to reëstablish Roman Catholicism. In this purpose she nearly succeeded. Her failure was due partly to her own sinful folly, which caused general indignation against her, but more to the constancy, courage and eloquence of Knox. Against the queen and the many nobles whom she won over the Scottish prophet stood his ground. Supported by the people, in whom he kept alive Protestant fervor, he was too strong for the queen.

The contest for Presbyterianism; Melville

After the battle for Protestantism had been won, came a battle for Presbyterianism. Queen Mary's son, James VI, later James I of England, tried to force the Scottish Church to have bishops. He saw that a Presbyterian church government fostered the spirit of liberty among the people. Also some of the nobles who sided with the king thought that the introduction of bishops would give them a chance at the great lands which had

belonged to the medieval bishops. Andrew Melville was the bold leader of the Scottish Presbyterians against the king. Because of his efforts the Church of Scotland received a complete Presbyterian form of government, which had not been fully worked out at the Reformation. But later the king succeeded, and the Church of Scotland had bishops from 1610 until the days of the Covenant.[1]

F. THE REFORMED CHURCH IN GERMANY

We have seen that there were many Zwinglian Protestants in Germany, especially in the south. Here was the beginning of the Reformed Church in Germany. When Calvin's influence was going forth from Geneva, Lutherans in some districts preferred to follow him rather than Luther. This occurred in large measure in the Palatinate (in the Rhine valley), whose ruler, the Elector Frederick III, was a deeply religious man and a strong Calvinist. Thus the number of the Reformed of Germany was much enlarged. Their chief creed, the famous Heidelberg Catechism, written by Zacharias Ursinus and Caspar Olevianus, was published in 1563 by the Elector, as the creed of his country. From the Reformed of Germany is descended the Reformed Church in the United States, sometimes called the German Reformed Church.

G. THE REFORMED CHURCH IN HUNGARY

During the sixteenth century Protestant teachings spread widely in Hungary. There came to be

[1] See p. 72.

many Lutherans and many Calvinists. The latter were more numerous, and in spite of many obstacles caused by the distracted state of the country a strong Reformed Church grew up.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What were the "Reformed" churches?
2. How did Zwingli come to adopt Reformation ideas? How did his experience differ from Luther's?
3. Describe the Reformation in Zurich. How far did the Zwinglian movement spread?
4. What caused the separation of the Lutherans and Zwinglians?
5. Describe Calvin's early life.
6. What was the religious and moral condition of Geneva before Calvin arrived?
7. What office did he hold in Geneva? With what purpose did he begin his ministry there after his exile?
8. Describe Calvin's reorganization of the church in Geneva.
9. Describe his educational system.
10. How was Geneva changed by Calvin's work?
11. What three things did Calvin do for Protestantism in general by his work in Geneva?
12. In what other ways did he serve the general Protestant cause?
13. Who were the Huguenots? How did the Wars of Religion end?
14. Describe the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.
15. How did the Protestant cause in the Netherlands come to be connected with the cause of national liberty?
16. Describe the character of William of Orange.
17. Describe the war of the Netherlands against Spain, and its results.
18. Who were the Arminians?
19. Describe John Knox's life down to the Scottish Reformation.

20. How did the Reformation triumph in Scotland? Describe the formation of the Scottish Reformed Church.

21. How did Calvin's influence affect the formation of the French, Dutch and Scottish Reformed churches?

22. What was the origin of the Reformed Church of Germany?

READING

Lindsay: "The History of the Reformation," Vol. II, Book III, on all subjects mentioned in the chapter except those of Sections F and G (see Contents).

"Cambridge Modern History," Vol. II, ch. X, on the Zwinglian Reformation, ch. XI, on Calvin and his work; ch. IX, on the Reformation in France; Vol. III, chs. I and XX, on the Wars of Religion in France; Vol. II, ch. XVI, and Vol. III, ch. VIII, on the Reformation in Scotland; Vol. III, chs. VI, VII, XIX, on the Reformation in the Netherlands and the war against Spain.

Jackson: "Huldreich Zwingli."

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CHAPTER XIII

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION: REVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

(CONTINUED)

(A. D. 1517-1648)

III. THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

Influences preparing for the Reformation

Long before Henry VIII broke with the Pope, several forces were preparing the English people for the Reformation. The most important was "Lollardy," keeping alive Wyclif's teachings.[1] Beside this, there were the preaching of reform in the church by humanists such as Colet,[2] the spread of Luther's books and teachings in some circles, and the extensive though forbidden circulation of Tyndale's New Testament, published in 1525.

A. HENRY VIII

The question of the marriage of Henry VIII

It misrepresents the case to say, as is sometimes said, that Henry VIII revolted against the Pope because he wanted a new wife. Grave questions of national welfare were involved. English statesmen were much troubled by the fact that there was no male heir to the crown in their country, which had never been ruled by a queen. There was doubt as to whether Henry's marriage with Queen Cath-

[1] See p. 12.
[2] See p. 19.

arine was legal, according to church law. Thus there was some justification for his request that the Pope annul the marriage. But before this request was presented, Henry put himself in a very bad light by a sudden infatuation with Anne Boleyn, who was quite unworthy to be queen of England.

When the Pope, for political reasons, refused the request, King Henry, who never brooked resistance to his will, determined to take England out from under papal rule. From the Archbishop of Canterbury he got a decision that his marriage with Catharine was illegal and that with Anne legal. This defiance brought from Rome a threat of excommunication. Henry's answer was an act of Parliament in 1534, declaring the king to be the "Supreme Head of the Church of England," and a declaration by the obedient clergy that the Pope had no supremacy in England.

Henry's breach with the Pope

So far, nothing had been done toward a real reformation of religion. During Henry's reign not a great deal was accomplished in this direction. When he died (1547) the Church of England still had in its creed the chief doctrines of the Roman Church. The situation in the church agreed with the views of Englishmen generally. They would no more obey an Italian bishop in their own church affairs. But in spite of considerable growth of Reformation teachings, most of them still held the old religious ideas.

Conditions brought about by his action

The power of these ideas had been weakened, however, by two things done in Henry's reign.

Forces of religious reform; (1) Bibles in the churches

One was the royal order that in every church "one whole Bible of the largest volume in English" should be placed where the people could easily read it. The Bible generally used consisted chiefly of Tyndale's translation from the originals. Tyndale's has been the basis of all later English Bibles, and a large part of his marvelous language remains in the most recent versions. The other act hostile to medieval religion was the closing of the monasteries and the seizing of their vast property.

(2) Suppression of the monasteries

B. EDWARD VI

Progress of the Reformation

The next reign saw the Church of England rapidly made Protestant by the noblemen who ruled for the boy king, Edward VI. Within five years there were issued a first and a second Book of Common Prayer, changing the worship of the church in accordance with Reformation ideas. Acts of Parliament required all persons to attend this Protestant worship. Meanwhile Reformation teachings were spreading among the people, but not fast enough to keep up with the changes made by the government.

C. MARY

Mary's attempt to restore England to the Roman Church

Then came the reaction under Queen Mary. Her one desire was to put England back where it had been before Henry VIII's action, to restore it to the Roman Church. All the acts of her predecessors in church affairs were undone. Protestantism was savagely attacked, especially in the

persons of its leaders. The English people, who were not accustomed to persecution as some continental nations were, saw some of their most eminent and godly men suffer agonizing death for their faith. The most distinguished victims were Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer. This persecution did what changes of laws and prayer books had not done — it made England Protestant at heart. "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley," said Latimer as the flames leaped up around them at Oxford, "we shall this day light such a candle in England as by God's grace shall never be put out." It was a true prophecy. The majority of the English people rejected a form of religion that caused such outrages. When Mary died after five years' endeavor to make England Roman Catholic, she had made it stanchly Protestant.

Result of her persecution

D. ELIZABETH

Mary's successor, the great Elizabeth, at once showed her purpose to be a Protestant, and a Protestant national church was speedily organized. A Book of Common Prayer was introduced, which is still used in the Church of England. A Protestant creed was adopted, the Thirty-nine Articles, inclining to Calvinism rather than to Lutheranism. No change was made in church government, the episcopal organization which had come down from the medieval church being retained. This Church of England was of course a state church. All these changes were made by Parliament, and the

The settlement under Elizabeth

queen became the head of the church. With its Protestant church, and with its swiftly growing power and wealth, England soon became one of chief bulwarks of the Protestant cause.

E. THE PURITANS

In the formation of the Church of England the ruling idea was to make no more changes than were required by the fundamental ideas of Protestantism. This was because Queen Elizabeth, who dominated all that was done, wished to pursue a middle course, so as to please the greatest possible number of her people. The English Reformation was thus conservative, retaining the old church government and much of the old form of worship.

Desire for more radical reformation

But a strong party in England urgently desired much greater changes. Many of its members had fled during Mary's persecution to Geneva and other places on the Continent, and there had come under the influence of Protestant movements going much farther from the old order than the English movement had gone. These men were nicknamed "Puritans." They insisted that the worship of the Church of England should be freed from many things, vestments and furnishings and ceremonies, that had been kept from the medieval order. They were opposed to church government by bishops. Many of them favored the Presbyterian form; some held that each congregation of Christians should be independent, without any general government, and hence were called Independents, or (later) Congregationalists. The Puritans also de-

manded that a strict discipline should be enforced in the Church of England, to rid it of unworthy clergymen and laymen. They were themselves men of strict morals, they were very firm in their convictions, and they were great readers of the Bible. In theology they were followers of Calvin.

Puritanism under Elizabeth, James I, Charles I

The Puritans did not wish to leave the church of their nation, and in fact could not do so, for the law required all persons to attend the services of the Church of England. What they wished was to remold the church according to their ideas. During Elizabeth's reign they vigorously agitated their views, and grew constantly stronger. They hoped much of the next sovereign, James I, but got from him only the ordering of a revision of the Bible, whence resulted the wonderful "King James Version" of 1611. During the last years of James's reign and during all of that of his son, Charles I, the policy of the government in church matters was dictated by Archbishop Laud. He believed that church government by bishops was divinely authorized. He insisted on establishing everywhere a form of worship much like the medieval form, and hateful to the Puritans. He was an intolerant, tyrannical man, and did his best to suppress Puritanism, not hesitating to use torture and imprisonment. Many Puritans, despairing of ever seeing the national church what they wished it to be, went to America for freedom to carry out their ideas.

Growth of Puritanism

But Puritanism steadily advanced. This was due partly to general Bible reading, beginning

about 1580 and steadily growing for more than half a century. "England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible." In that age, when there were no newspapers or magazines, and far fewer books than now, the Bible formed much the larger part of the reading of the people. Because of this, a deep religious and moral earnestness spread in their life. The general spirit of the nation thus became more and more like that of the Puritans. Another reason for their increasing strength was that in the great struggle of the people against the tyranny of James I and Charles I they stood firm for constitutional government.

Revolt of Scotland against the religious policy of Charles I

The chain of events which brought Puritanism into control of England began in Scotland. Charles I was king of both countries, as James I had been. Under Laud's influence, he tried to force on the Church of Scotland a prayer book like that of the Church of England, containing many things which the Scotch hated as "popish." By this folly he roused Scotland to united resistance. The famous Covenant was framed, pledging its signers to maintain the national church as it was established at the Reformation. The Covenant was signed in 1638 at a great gathering in Edinburgh, amid wild enthusiasm, and then sent through the country for more signatures. In pursuance of it, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland that year deposed the bishops whom James I had forced on the church, thus restoring pure Presbyterianism. Then a Scottish army crossed the border into England, in open rebellion.

By doing so it won a great victory for English liberty. For King Charles, having no money for war against the rebels, was forced, after years of governing illegally without a Parliament, to call one.

Puritans in control of England

The "Long Parliament," which met in 1640, represented the England of the time by being strongly Puritan. Thus the Puritans at last had control over the Church of England, and a chance to remold it as they desired. The story of how they used this power belongs to the next period.

IV. THE ANABAPTISTS

Origin of the Anabaptists

Besides the Lutheran and the Reformed, there was a third general Reformation movement, the Anabaptist. Its sources were in the groups of dissenters before the Reformation called the "Brethren."[1] This old evangelical body was naturally greatly quickened by the religious revolution brought on by Luther. Few of those who belonged to it, however, joined either the Lutheran or the Reformed side of Protestantism. The Anabaptists, as they came to be called by others, went on in their own way, producing their own leaders and carrying on their own quiet but active missionary work. A great increase of their numbers resulted, in southern and western Germany, the Netherlands, Moravia, Austria and Switzerland.

Their social ideas

The medieval "Brethren" were most numerous among the working people of the towns of Germany and the Netherlands. Their religious movement had some connection with the movement of

[1] See p. 8.

social unrest among these working people and the peasantry in the later Middle Ages.[1] Hence in many of the Anabaptists the spirit of protest against the wrongs suffered by the poor was strong. They were to some extent involved in the Peasants' War of 1525, the culmination of the revolts of the oppressed classes. Some of them denied the right of private property. But revolutionary social ideas were not held by all of them, nor were they generally given to violent actions. Their usual attitude toward wrongs was one of quiet endurance.

Their religious opinions

The Anabaptists in general held the great doctrines of the Reformation, which were directly in line with their evangelical ancestry. They all differed from Lutherans, Zwinglians and Calvinists, however, by their ideas regarding the nature of the Christian Church. The Church, they said, is composed of believers in Christ. No others have a right to be in it or to have anything to do with it. Hence almost all of them rejected infant baptism. For, they argued, baptism signifies entrance into the Church. But infants, because they cannot believe, cannot belong to the Church. Therefore their baptism is meaningless. The name Anabaptist, meaning those who baptize again, arose because those who joined the churches of this movement were rebaptized, on the ground that their baptism in infancy[2] meant nothing. The Ana-

[1] See pp. 19-20.

[2] Practically all grown men and women of the first half of the sixteenth century had been baptized in infancy, under the universal rule of the medieval church.

baptists would have nothing to do with any state church or its members. A church under the power of rulers who may or may not be true believers is no true church, they said. Thus they cut themselves off from fellowship with other Protestants; for all of the Protestant national churches except the French were state churches.

Character of the Anabaptists

The Anabaptists were great lovers of the Bible, and in Germany they were using a German translation from the Vulgate or Latin version before Luther's Bible came out. They purposed to live strictly according to the teaching of the New Testament. Hence many of them would not take oaths or offer any resistance to evil. Their lives were, as a rule, simple, upright and industrious. In their churches they kept a strict watch over one another's conduct. Persecutions far worse than those endured by any of their contemporaries came upon them, for other Protestants as well as Roman Catholics were hostile to them. Some of the Anabaptists met death at the hands of Lutherans and Zwinglians. Roman Catholic rulers directed at them their fiercest attacks, especially in the Netherlands.

Menno Simons

The greatest leader of the Anabaptists was Menno Simons (1492-1559). For twenty-five years he shepherded the scattered Anabaptist societies in Germany and the Netherlands. He purified them of fanatical errors, encouraged them in their sufferings, won large additions to their numbers by his preaching, and drew them together into a

The Mennonites

great brotherhood. This took from him the name Mennonite.

The Mennonites and modern Baptists

In 1608 some men of Puritan views who had left the Church of England fled from persecution to Holland. Some of them later were the Pilgrims of Plymouth. Others came under the influence of Mennonites and adopted their views. About 1611 some of these latter founded in London the first Anabaptist or Baptist church of England. Other early English Baptists were in association with Dutch Mennonites. From these first English Baptists have come the Baptist churches of the English-speaking world. The Mennonite name is still borne by churches in Germany and by churches of German origin in Russia and America.

V. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

A. FORCES MAKING FOR REFORM IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The medieval church could not come through the storms of the Reformation and be altogether the same as it had been before. Forces working within and without made this impossible.

The spirit of reform within the church

Within there was an unceasing demand for moral reform. The only quarter of the church where there was general contentment with existing conditions was the Curia, or papal court, the ring of ecclesiastical politicians surrounding the Pope. Elsewhere, men of all countries and classes insisted that the church be purged of its gross evils. In this cry many of the clergy joined—

priests, monks, bishops, even cardinals. Furthermore, some men who had been influenced by the Revival of Learning felt that the church's teaching ought to be reformed, in the light of the new truth that was abroad. Thus within the church there were many men, all of its thoughtful and serious men, who were bent on securing reform.

The effect of the Reformation

When to this force working within there was added a succession of tremendous blows from without, as the Reformation broke away one part of the church after another, some result had to follow. Men who had no particular interest in reform for its own sake could yet read the handwriting on the wall, and they saw that the church must amend itself in order to save its life.

B. POSSIBLE WAYS OF REFORM

Moral reform

There were two possible methods of reform, each of which was advocated by a considerable party. One was a purely moral reformation. The church might put a stop to wrongful practices and rid itself of vicious priests and prelates. It might remove the abuses and disorders of its government, and improve its organization, so making itself more efficient for its work. It might gain a new spirit of fidelity and zeal. With all this, doctrine and worship might be kept essentially as they had been in the Middle Ages.

Reform of religious teaching

The other possible reformation would consist of changes in doctrine as well as of moral advance. Its supporters believed that the Protestant movement had brought to light precious truths. These

they hoped the church would take into its teaching. They thought that if this were done the Protestants would return and the great rent in the church would be mended. But the hope of this well-meaning party was vain. Between those who believed, as these men still did, that the priesthood of the church had divine authority to bring God and man together, and Protestants, who cherished the truth of the priesthood of all believers, there could be no fundamental agreement. This was made finally clear at a great conference of theologians of both sides in 1541.

C. THE WAY CHOSEN—THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

The idea of a reformation by which the Protestants could be brought back and the unity of the church restored was now given up. The Roman Catholic Church, as we may now call it, began to prepare itself for a great battle with Protestantism. There was to be no important change from the teaching of the medieval church, but there were to be reorganization and moral reform to make the church more efficient. This great endeavor of the Roman Catholic Church to reorganize itself and conquer Protestantism is called the Counter-Reformation.

D. THE RESOURCES OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

1. The Jesuits

For this battle, the Roman Catholic Church had several great resources. One was a new, but soon

immensely powerful, religious order, the Society of Jesus. This organization can best be understood by studying the religious experience of its founder, the Spanish nobleman Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556).

Loyola, founder of the order

Loyola's first great desire was to win fame as a soldier; but this future was closed against him at twenty-eight by a wound which lamed him for life. Then his ambition turned toward gaining fame through being a great saint, like Dominic or Francis. As he was considering this, it came over him that to be a saint one must be a man of God, and that he was not such a man. He became possessed by a desire to get near to God and be at peace with him. Therefore he entered a monastery, and flung himself with his whole soul into the monk's life. But all his fastings, scourgings, prayers and confessions gave his conscience no rest. Then suddenly he cast himself and his sins on the mercy of God; and thus by trust in God he found assurance of forgiveness and peace for his soul. Henceforth his life was to be a willing service of God.

Thus far he had gone in the path of Luther. But now Loyola diverged. He was still altogether a man of medieval religion. He believed without question that the church was ordained of God to represent him among men. Moreover, in this Spanish soldier, a ruling trait was that disciplined military obedience often seen in the Spanish character. To him true religion meant blind submission to the church. The service of God consisted, he thought, in devotion to the church's interests.

His interpretation of the service of God

This meant gaining new converts for it, winning back those who had left it, breaking down the strength of its opponents, and putting a stop to all teaching contrary to its rule. He held this idea with most sincere conviction, and with the ardor and persistency that marked his character.

Being ordered by his superiors to study theology before he entered on any work, he spent six years at the University of Paris. With his keen insight into human nature he chose as companions of his purposes nine students, all of whom came to be men of extraordinary power. The Society of Jesus was formally organized in 1540, with these ten as members. It grew rapidly from the first, though only picked men were admitted; for Loyola's power of influence, high character, ardent zeal, and great designs for the regeneration of the church attracted many. Both priests and laymen were received into the order. Unlike other orders, it then, as now, had no distinctive dress.

Formation of the Society of Jesus

Its purpose and organization

The purpose of the society was to advance the interests and fight the enemies of the Roman Catholic Church, in every possible way. It was to work always in unquestioning loyalty to the Pope. The organization of the society was a system of absolute, instant obedience, enforced by constant discipline. "Every member . . . was bound to obey his immediate superiors as if they stood for him in the place of Christ, and that to the extent of doing what he considered wrong." [1] Thus was

[1] Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. II, p. 552.

formed a great machine, altogether subject to the will of the General, always ready to be used for anything whatever that was helpful to the church or commanded by the Pope.

Jesuit methods of fighting Protestantism

The Jesuits had three principal methods of counteracting Protestantism. In churches which they established or of which they got control they provided able preachers and attractive services. Thus they put new life into the public worship of the Roman Catholic Church in many places. They also gave great attention to educational work. Schools for children were opened, which were soon crowded, because good teaching was given free. The pupils were, of course, trained to be devout Roman Catholics and through the children the Jesuit teachers worked on the parents. By this means large districts in Germany were won back from Protestantism. The Roman Catholic universities were supplied with professors chosen for their powers of teaching and of personal influence. Thus many young men were made ardent supporters of Roman Catholicism. A third method of work was political. The Jesuits set themselves to inspire Roman Catholic rulers with their own devotion to the church and hatred of Protestantism. Persecutions of Protestants in many countries were the result of their constant pressure.

Within a very few years the Jesuits became dominant in the Roman Catholic Church. Their spirit was the spirit of the Counter-Reformation.

2. The Work of the Council of Trent

The second great resource of the Roman Catholic Church was what the Council of Trent did for it. This general council met at Trent in the Tyrol in 1545, and, during eighteen years, held three long sessions. It gave the church a complete statement of its doctrine. Nothing of this kind had been made in the Middle Ages. Now the church received a definite expression of what it believed regarding all the great matters of Christian truth, framed in frank opposition to Protestantism. Thus it had a new and powerful weapon in its fight to regain what had been lost. The council was called, however, to consider the subject of earlier councils—reform in the church. Though the Curia managed to keep it from doing all that the majority wished, the council did accomplish something in this direction. It reorganized the church's system of government, so as to make it more efficient. It removed some of the worst evils. It made provision for the education of the clergy. Altogether, the council left the church far better equipped for its battle with Protestantism.

3. Means of Repression—the Inquisition and the Index

The leaders of the Counter-Reformation adopted heartily the medieval belief that it was right to use force against heresy. Roman Catholic rulers were urged to persecute, as we have seen. But the church had its own means of repression. By

the Inquisition what Protestantism there was in Spain and Italy was stamped out. Along with it worked the Congregation of the Index, that is the Index of Prohibited Books. This list of books condemned by the church included all Protestant writings and all versions of the Bible except the Vulgate. By the activity of the Congregation not only Protestant belief, but also progressive thought and learning of all kinds were practically crushed out of Italy and Spain.

4. A Revival of Religion in the Church

It must not be thought that the Counter-Reformation was wholly an affair of organizations and schemes and repression. It included a genuine awakening of religious life in the Roman Catholic Church. Among both clergy and laity there was in many places a revival of Christian faith and zeal, which showed itself in new devotion to the interests of the church and to the welfare of fellow men. Those who felt this revival were enemies of Protestantism, and labored to build up the Roman Catholic Church at its expense, but they were unquestionably devout Christian men.

E. THE CONQUESTS OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

Roman Catholicism stood at its lowest point about 1560. Protestantism had prevailed in many countries, and seemed to have more conquests just ahead, particularly in parts of the German Empire which hitherto the papacy had retained. In

1566, however, the Roman Catholic Church took the offensive under a fighting Pope, Pius V. The resources just described enabled it to attack Protestantism with a force which the medieval church at the beginning of the Reformation could not have wielded. It had also the help of powerful rulers, especially of the German emperor and the sovereigns of France and Spain.

Roman Catholic conquests

Now began the reconquest. In large parts of the German Empire which were still officially Roman Catholic, because they had Roman Catholic rulers, Protestantism was strong and growing. Many of the rulers had been tolerant toward it. But now they became possessed by the Counter-Reformation hatred of it. By the work of the Jesuits and the persecutions of the rulers, these countries were made solidly Roman Catholic. This included Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Bavaria, and much of the Rhine country. In Poland the same thing happened. In the Netherlands the Counter-Reformation appeared in the destruction of Protestantism in the southern provinces. The greatest of these first Roman Catholic enterprises of reconquest was directed against England. It was clear that so long as England kept its power Protestantism could not be crushed. By the great fleet called the Spanish Armada, sent by Philip II of Spain against England, the Roman Catholic power tried to strike down its stoutest enemy. But the English sea fighters and a terrible storm together utterly ruined the Armada, and Protestant England was saved.

VI. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The Counter-Reformation directly caused one of the most destructive wars of all history. The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) resulted from a united attempt of the German Roman Catholic rulers to destroy Protestantism in the empire. The emperor, Ferdinand II, and the Archduke of Bavaria led the Roman Catholics against the Protestant princes. For eleven years the Protestants were uniformly unsuccessful. Then the Protestant cause was saved by the great Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. He was a wise statesman and the ablest military leader in Europe; and he was an ardent Lutheran. He entered the war because the advancing power of the emperor threatened Sweden's life, and because he could not see his fellow Protestants crushed. By a series of brilliant victories he lifted Protestantism out of helpless collapse. Though after his death in battle the war turned somewhat against the Protestants, the advantage he gained proved permanent. Protestantism on the continent of Europe owed its life at this critical time to Gustavus Adolphus.

Gustavus Adolphus saves Protestantism

The famous Peace of Westphalia concluded the war in 1648. The Peace of Augsburg[1] was confirmed, and widened to give Calvinism the same rights that Lutheranism had had. Protestants were put on an equality with Roman Catholics in all affairs of the empire. All parts of the empire,

Peace of Westphalia

[1] See p. 40.

it was agreed, should keep the forms of religion, Protestant or Roman Catholic, which they had in the year 1624. This put a stop to the aggressions of the Counter-Reformation, and also to Protestant advance. Germany to-day largely holds to the religious bounds fixed by this treaty. The Peace of Westphalia made sure the chief results of the Protestant Reformation in Germany, and was a great step forward in religious liberty.

VII. MISSIONS

Protestant inactivity

All the missionary honors of this period belong to the Roman Catholic Church. The Protestant churches did nothing worth mentioning to give the gospel to non-Christian peoples. One reason for this was that the strength of Protestantism was spent in the struggle for its own existence. But it has to be said that the Protestant churches had no understanding of their missionary duty and privilege. The great leaders of the Reformation gave no sign of realizing what Christians ought to do in the matter, and naturally their followers imitated them. Protestantism did not get its missionary vision until the eighteenth century.

Roman Catholic enterprise

Throughout this period the Roman Catholic Church carried on a very active missionary work. A great new field for Christianity to conquer was opened by the discoveries of new lands in West and East in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Here pioneers of the church, chiefly Franciscans and Dominicans, made haste to enter. The

governments of the countries which made these discoveries thought that the extension of Christianity was a part of their duty toward their new possessions. Hence friars and priests often went on the voyages of exploration, and always were among the earliest comers.

Jesuit Missions

The greatest of the Roman Catholic missionaries, however, were the Jesuits. Mission work fitted exactly into their great purpose, to extend the church over the world, and they threw themselves into it with boundless zeal and heroism. One of Ignatius Loyola's first companions in forming the Society of Jesus was the Spaniard, Francis Xavier. In the year in which the society was founded he and two other members went to India. Already some missionary work had been there under the Portuguese Government. Xavier worked in India about four years, chiefly along the southernmost coast. His methods were practically those of mediæval missionaries. After slight instruction of the natives through an interpreter he would baptize numbers of them in a day. But he showed truly apostolic desire for the salvation of men, as he understood it, and truly apostolic devotion in laboring for it. Under his hands the work grew so that large reënforcements had to be sent by the Jesuits in Europe.

Xavier

From India, Xavier went to Japan. There he planted Christianity in 1549, and in two years' work he and his companions laid the foundation of a Japanese church which grew very rapidly. Still seeking to carry the gospel into new lands, Xavier

started for China, and died in 1552 on an island off the Chinese coast.

The Jesuits in China

The beginning in China which Xavier could not make was made in 1583 by the Jesuit Matteo Ricci. By his knowledge of astronomy and geography he made the emperor kindly disposed toward himself and his efforts to establish Christianity. Here also the work prospered greatly, so that many hundreds of Jesuit missioners were summoned to care for it.

The Jesuits in America

In the French possessions in North America and in Paraguay, also, the Jesuit missionary campaign was pushed with great vigor and devotion. In fidelity and courage and sacrifice no missionaries have ever surpassed the French Jesuits who worked in North America, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence all along the Great Lakes and thence to the mouth of the Mississippi.

In almost all the countries where the Jesuits and the older orders worked they built up the church very rapidly. But this growth, as Roman Catholic historians admit, was not substantial, which shows that the methods used were mistaken. Nevertheless, the zeal and heroism of many of these men is a precious legacy to the whole Christian Church.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Describe the progress of the English Reformation in the reigns of
   a. Henry VIII.
   b. Edward VI.

c. Mary.

d. Elizabeth.

2. When did the Puritans appear? What were their desires regarding the Church of England?

3. Why did some of the Puritans emigrate to America?

4. Why did Puritanism grow in the early seventeenth century?

5. When and how did the Puritans come into power in England?

6. What was the origin of the Anabaptists?

7. What were the ideas of the Anabaptists regarding the church? Why did they object to infant baptism?

8. How are the modern Baptists connected with the Anabaptists?

9. What forces made some change in the medieval church necessary?

10. What were the possible ways of reforming the church? What way was chosen? What was the Counter-Reformation?

11. What were the resources of the Roman Catholic Church for its battle against Protestantism?

12. Describe the religious experience of Ignatius Loyola. What was his idea of practical Christianity?

13. What were the principal features of the Society of Jesus?

14. How did the Jesuits fight against Protestantism?

15. What did the Council of Trent do for the Roman Catholic Church?

16. Describe the revival of religious life in the Roman Church.

17. How much did the Roman Church gain in the Counter-Reformation?

18. What were the causes of the Thirty Years' War? What were the conditions of the Peace of Westphalia?

19. Why did Protestants do nothing for missions in this period?

20. Describe the missions of the Jesuits.

READING

Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. II, Bk. IV, on the Reformation in England, through Elizabeth's reign; Bk. V, ch. II, on Anabaptism; Bk. VI, on the Counter-Reformation, especially ch. IV, on Loyola and the Jesuits.

Green: "Short History of the English People," ch. VII, on the Reformation; ch. VIII, sections I-V, on Puritan England, especially section I, on the Puritans. Section IV treats of the Puritan emigration to America.

Newman: "Manual of Church History," Vol. II, pp. 148-200, on the Anabaptists.

Ward: "The Counter-Reformation."

Schwill: "Political History of Modern Europe," ch. X, on the Thirty Years' War; ch. XI, on the Puritans' part in English politics.

Henderson: "Short History of Germany," Vol. I, chs. XVI-XVIII, on the Counter-Reformation and the Thirty Years' War.

CHAPTER XIV

EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

(A. D. 1648-1800)

I. FRANCE AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

We may take France and the Roman Catholic Church together, for the chief events in the history of Roman Catholicism in this period belong to French history.

Growth of France

For France the seventeenth century was a time of large growth. The nation prospered much, and moved rapidly to the first place among the nations of Europe. Its energies of all kinds were greatly quickened. All this came to full flower in the long and brilliant reign of Louis XIV (1661-1715), the time of many of the most famous men of French history.

A. GALLICANISM AND ULTRAMONTANISM

Religious awakening

The Roman Catholic Church in France shared in this strengthening of the national life. The increased religious energy showed itself in preaching, in philanthropic service and in missions. This general awakening of both patriotism and religion resulted in the movement known as Gallicanism. This, in a word, represented an attempt to be both good Catholics and good Frenchmen.

Gallicanism

The Gallicans were devoutly attached to the Roman Catholic Church, and acknowledged its authority in matters of religion. But they believed that the Pope had no business to interfere in French politics. In this sphere they acknowledged only the authority of their king. Furthermore they held that the Pope was not an absolute monarch in the church, but that his authority was inferior to that of general councils.

Ultramontanism

Opposed to Gallicanism was the Ultramontane party. This word "Ultramontane" is common in discussions of the politics and church affairs of European countries in modern times, for the spirit to which it refers often appears. An Ultramontane is one who in matters of church or state obeys the Pope before any other authority. At this time in France the strength of Ultramontanism lay in the Jesuits, always the loyal soldiers of the Pope.

B. THE DISSOLUTION OF THE JESUITS

Opposition to the Jesuits

During the latter seventeenth and eighteenth centuries strong opposition was offered to the Jesuits by many of the ablest and best men of the Roman Catholic Church in France. They protested against the easy-going, deceitful ideas about personal morals which the Jesuits were spreading through the confessional. Still more did they object to the Jesuit slavery to the Pope, as harmful to both religion and patriotism. The Jesuits fought this opposition fiercely. They got both the Popes and King Louis XIV under their influence,

and had the active help of these great authorities. The French clergy were compelled by the Popes and the king to go on record as condemning the ideas of the opponents of the Jesuits. Nevertheless the Jesuits became more and more unpopular. The feeling grew that this powerful, secretly working body of men, who lived in France but gave their highest allegiance to a ruler outside of France, was tremendable and dangerous to the nation. When Portugal in 1759 expelled the Jesuits, public opinion in France demanded the same action there, and it was taken in 1764. Their expulsion

This was the beginning of the end for the Jesuits. Soon Spain expelled them, and then the kingdom of Naples, the cause in each case being that they were considered disloyal to the government. Finally Pope Clement XIV, under pressure from the kings of all these countries, in 1773 dissolved the order. Strange to say, those Jesuits who kept up the organization found refuge in a Protestant country, Prussia, and in Russia, where the Eastern Church ruled. Dissolution

C. THE PERSECUTION OF THE HUGUENOTS

The splendid age of Louis XIV has a dark side, in the terrible sufferings of the French Protestants. By the Edict of Nantes, in 1598, the Huguenots had received complete liberty of conscience, liberty of public worship in many places, full civil rights, and the control of a large number of towns. Between 1598 and 1659, although the government took from them this control of the towns, their The Huguenots in the early sixteenth century

freedom of religion was not disturbed. In this time of peace the French Protestants formed a large body, full of enthusiastic religious life. They numbered over a million—more than their total at the present time. They had a ministry of high character and marked ability. Their churches, many of which were very large, were crowded with worshipers. The Huguenots had an importance in the nation far out of proportion to their numbers. Among them were many of the leaders in the professions, in commerce and in manufacturing, and many of the best workingmen. They were patriotic Frenchmen, thoroughly loyal. France had no other element of population so valuable.

The persecution

But the bigoted Roman Catholic clergy could not endure this prosperous Protestantism. At their door lies the chief blame for the terrible disaster that befell France through the attack on the Huguenots. Because of their urging, the government began the attack in 1659. The first measures against the Huguenots were the taking away of civil rights, and endeavors on a great scale to bribe them to profess Roman Catholicism. In 1681 Louis XIV entered on a determined, savage effort to crush out Protestantism. This reached its climax four years later in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Protestants had now no security at all before the law. Laws with barbarous penalties forbade them to emigrate, and all kinds of oppressions and cruelties were used to compel them to become Roman Catholics.

Resulting loss to France

The result of all this was an irreparable loss to France. Thousands of her best citizens were put to death or broken in body by torture and imprisonment. Many others braved for the sake of their faith the dangers of emigration, and fled the country. Altogether about four hundred thousand Huguenots left France. Their going was a grievous disaster to the nation. Commerce and manufacturing were seriously injured. Even worse was the moral loss to France—a loss which has never been made good.

The Huguenots went far and wide, to England, Holland, Protestant Germany, America. Thus the French Reformation gave its strength to build up Protestantism in other countries. After 1685 Protestantism in France led a hunted and heroic life for nearly eighty years. Then persecution stopped, but religious liberty was not given until 1789, by the first of the governments of the French Revolution.

D. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Hostility of the French people to the Roman Catholic Church

When the Revolution broke out (1789), the assembly representing the people showed bitter hostility to the Roman Catholic Church. The causes of this had been working for many years. The persecution of Protestantism had made people turn in disgust and horror from an institution whose leaders were to blame for such barbarities. Many patriotic Frenchmen regarded the church as an enemy to national loyalty, because numbers of the

clergy put the Pope's authority above that of the government. Furthermore, the eighteenth century saw in France a great growth of doubt and denial of the truth of Christianity. This naturally caused indifference or opposition to the great representative of Christianity in that country, the Roman Catholic Church. Strangely enough, this skepticism played a considerable part in ending the persecution of Protestantism. Men who lacked Christian faith of course condemned the use of force to make one form of Christianity supreme over another.

Perhaps the greatest cause of the hostility to the church was its enormous wealth and the selfish use made of it. Times were very hard, especially for the great mass of the poor, who were ruined by cruel taxation. But the wealth of the church was used chiefly for the advantage of its higher clergy, who were generally lazy and luxurious, and in many cases immoral. The parish priests, the only members of the clergy who were of use to the people, were wretchedly underpaid. This whole situation filled France with indignation.

Treatment of the church by the revolutionary governments

The first legislature of the Revolution, the National Assembly (1789-1790), seized the property of the church and sold much of it to meet national needs. It established complete religious liberty. It abolished the monastic orders, and wholly reorganized the Roman Catholic Church, leaving it subject to the Pope only in name. Not only the church, but also Christianity itself was hated. This was due partly to the increase of unbelief,

and partly to the fact that many thought that the church and Christianity were identical, and blamed the religion for all the evils of the church. In 1793 Christian worship was abolished, the existence of God was formally denied, and the worship of the Goddess of Reason was set up. The Christian Lord's Day was replaced by the setting apart of every tenth day for rest and sport.

The people, however, soon turned against all this. In 1795 Christian worship was permitted by the government. All religious bodies were allowed to have their own forms of worship, supporting them without government aid. This arrangement was soon broken up by Napoleon, who had his own ideas about the relation of church and state.

II. PROTESTANTISM IN GERMANY

A. RELIGIOUS DECLINE AFTER THE REFORMATION.

An age of theological disputes

The history of German Protestantism during the years following the Reformation is disappointing. The great tide of religious revival which Luther's work had caused soon subsided. A dreary and barren time of theological disputes set in. Even before the Peace of Augsburg (1555) the Lutherans were quarreling among themselves over questions of doctrine. Moreover, there were bitter doctrinal contests between the Lutheran and the Reformed theologians, which widened the breach between these two branches of Protestantism.

Lutheran orthodoxy

One outcome of these disputes was the framing by the Lutherans in 1577 of the long creed called

the Formula of Concord. This was intended to be a final statement of Lutheran doctrine, settling all question as to what that ought to be. It condemned Calvinism, especially in the matter of predestination, thus perpetuating the separation of the Lutheran and the Reformed bodies. It pronounced at length on all the questions in dispute among Lutherans, and brought about among them a measure of harmony. The Formula of Concord came to be thought by Lutherans a complete expression of Christian truth, a perfect creed which could not be improved upon. Henceforth, the men of the Lutheran ministry devoted their preaching to explaining and defending this creed, instead of strengthening the spiritual life of their people or leading them into Christian service. They were more interested in stating and supporting orthodox Lutheran doctrine than in the effect of Christian truth on the lives of the people.

There was therefore a religious decline in German Lutheranism in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The successes of the Counter-Reformation in Lutheran districts were due partly to this condition. This religious weakness and also the constant theological warfare between Lutherans and Calvinists go far to explain the poor showing which German Protestantism made in the early part of the Thirty Years' War. The war brought no improvement, but rather further spiritual loss, on account of the ruin and barbarism which it caused.

Thus we find the religious life of German Prot-

estantism after 1648 decidedly feeble. This was true of both the Lutherans and the Reformed. The ministry was poor in personal religion. Orthodoxy was considered the most important characteristic of a minister. It was not thought necessary that he should have had a Christian experience or be an earnest Christian man. Naturally preaching consisted mostly of theological discussions, with little emphasis on vital Christianity or help toward getting it. The churches were cold, formal and inactive. There was no idea of Christian missions, and at home Protestantism was about as far as possible from being an aggressive, enthusiastic force.

Religious weakness in the seventeenth century

B. PIETISM

In this time when it was so much needed new life came through the powerful movement called Pietism. Its first great leader was Philip Jacob Spener. In early manhood he saw the evil case of religion in his country, and the reason for this, and set himself to do what he could to remedy it.

As pastor at Frankfort-on-the-Main (1666-1686), Spener labored that his people might have a living earnest Christianity, ruling and purifying their conduct. He preached simple, fervid, practical sermons, avoiding the stiff oratorical style which was in fashion. He dwelt upon the truth of regeneration, the change wrought in the heart of the man of faith by the Spirit of God. He insisted that to be born again and to lead a holy life were infinitely more important than to have orthodox

Spener's work

views as to doctrine. Hard to believe as it may be, this was then a new and strange idea. Spener revived the Reformation doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, and showed that one of its practical meanings was that laymen should enter into religious service, teaching and helping one another. He held meetings in his own house for devotional study of the Bible and prayer and mutual instruction, in which laymen took part. He did a great deal of pastoral work and paid much attention to the religious education of children. The fact that both his teachings and his methods were new to the church life of his time is the best indication of what its condition was.

The Pietist movement

Spener's ministry bore fruit in the revival of many people in Frankfort. Thus began the Pietist movement, as it was called, that is, the revival of piety, of living Christianity as distinguished from mere orthodoxy of belief. Its growth was greatly furthered by Spener's book *Pia Desideria* ("Pious Longings"), in which he pointed out the evil conditions of the times and urged as a remedy the teachings and methods which he was using. The movement rapidly grew into a widespread and powerful awakening. It met opposition from severely orthodox theologians—the faculty of Wittenberg University charged Spener with two hundred and sixty-four theological errors! — and from those who objected to the strict moral teachings of the Pietists. But their efforts were vain. For half a century, beginning about 1685, Pietism was the ruling influence in German Protestant-

ism, filling it with fresh spiritual power, in fact making religious life there a new thing. It was really a continuance of the religious revival which accompanied the Reformation. Covered over for years, apparently quenched, this now burst out with life-giving strength.

Pietist philanthropy and missions

Like all genuine revivals, Pietism inspired people to works of Christian love. In this side of the movement we come upon its second great leader, August Francke, pastor and university professor at Halle from 1694. This city and its university became the center of the movement. Here were great institutions for destitute children. Here also was the home office of the famous Danish-Halle mission; for Pietism has the honor of having produced the earliest Protestant foreign missions work. The king of Denmark, wishing to provide Christian teaching for the people of his possessions in southern India, obtained missionaries from the German Pietists. The first of them went out to Tranquebar in 1705. During that century sixty missionaries, among whom was the noble Benjamin Schwartz, were supplied for this mission by the Pietist schools of Halle.

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Influence of Pietism outside of Germany

Beside what it did for religious life in Germany, Pietism sent out to other lands impulses of spiritual power which brought about great results. The Moravian Brotherhood was in part a result of this movement. Through the Moravians the spirit of Pietism touched John Wesley and made him one of the most powerful leaders the Christian Church has ever had. Through a Dutch Pietist minister

of Raritan, New Jersey, Gilbert Tennent received the personal revival which made his preaching one of the causes of the Great Awakening in America.

C. THE MORAVIANS

The founder of the Moravian Brotherhood was Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), an Austrian nobleman, who was brought up under Pietist influences. In his youth he formed a plan of gathering a number of truly religious people into a community, which should be a source of spiritual life for the churches near it. When he was barely twenty-one he bought an estate in Saxony in order to carry out this plan. Very soon the people needed for it were providentially supplied. Certain members of the Bohemian Brotherhood, the religious body which sprang from the work of John Hus, being driven by persecution from their homes in Moravia, obtained from Zinzendorf permission to settle on his estate. Thus was made the beginning of the community, which took the name Herrnhut, "Shelter of the Lord." From these Moravians the whole company got the Moravian name, though a number of Germans from the neighborhood also joined it. Zinzendorf himself, with his wife and child, came to live in the community. To it he devoted his life, with tireless labors and constant prayers. Though there were sharp religious differences among its members, he brought them into a real unity, and filled them with his own passionate devotion to Christ.

Formation of the Moravian Brotherhood

Moravian missions

The missionary labors which have made the Moravians famous began in 1731. Two men were sent to St. Thomas in the West Indies, and two to Greenland, where the heroic Norwegian, Hans Egede, had already planted the gospel. Following them a stream of missionaries went out, so that in Zinzendorf's lifetime his brethren were at work in Europe, Asia, Africa and North and South America. In a few years little Herrnhut sent more missionaries than had gone from all European Protestantism during two centuries. They went to the hardest and most dangerous places and the most unpromising peoples. Everywhere they were animated by the joyful, confident faith and the loyalty to Christ that speak in Zinzendorf's hymn, "Jesus, still lead on"; and everywhere they showed the same courage and love for men.

Zinzendorf did not intend to found a separate church organization; but such the Moravians became. Their church has never lost its missionary zeal, and by this example it has given inspiration to Christians everywhere.

D. RELIGIOUS DECLINE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The revival caused by Pietism was followed by a time of religious weakness. In the eighteenth century came the time called the "Illumination," the mark of which was supreme confidence in the powers of the human mind. In all parts of life things were no longer accepted because they always had been accepted or because some great authority taught them. They were accepted only if

they could be proved true and right. This spirit spread throughout western Europe, but was especially strong in Germany and France. Old ideas in politics were thrown over, and the authority of existing institutions denied. Human rights were powerfully asserted, and the idea of human liberty made great progress in many minds. The French Revolution was caused in part by such thinking. In the sphere of religion the "Illumination" caused men to doubt what was taught by the churches, Roman Catholic or Protestant, and to decide questions of religious truth by their own minds. Many denied that there was any divine revelation, holding that the truth of religion could be found by the human reason. In Germany, as in France, there was much doubt of the truth of Christianity, or denial of it. Therefore German religious life suffered a considerable decline, which lasted until the early nineteenth century.

III. THE EASTERN CHURCH

(FROM THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY TO THE EIGHTEENTH)

In our account of the Reformation no mention was made of the Eastern Church. This was because it was in no way affected by the Reformation. It lived in another world, and knew nothing of the religious revolution in the West. At that time the East and West stood farther apart than ever, because of the failure of an attempt at reunion in the fifteenth century. The attempt went so far

that an act of union of the two churches was signed at Florence in 1439. But the Eastern Church condemned what some of its clergy had done at Florence, and would hear nothing of any reunion. The great obstacle was the unwillingness of the East to submit to the Pope.

Results of the Turkish capture of Constantinople

A few years later, there fell upon the Eastern Church the greatest disaster of its history. In 1453 the Turks captured Constantinople. The Eastern Empire, so long a champion of Christianity, passed away, and the sultan sat on the emperor's throne. St. Sophia, the magnificent church built by Justinian in the sixth century, was turned into a mosque, as a sign of the fall of Christianity before Islam. The Christians living in Turkish territory were allowed to keep up their worship, but they lost all their rights before the law, and had to live in helpless subjection. The organization of the church was undisturbed. The patriarch of Constantinople even had his powers increased. He was placed over the other three patriarchates of the East, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria, and was made head of all the Christians in the Turkish Empire, which now included all the territory of the Eastern Church except Russia. He was appointed by the sultan, and was wholly under his power. Most of the patriarchs after this obtained their office by bribery and kept it by flattery. They lost influence with the people through being really officials of the hated Moslem power. Since the bishops also were under Turkish control, they, too, suffered in character and influence.

Intellectual decline of the church

At the fall of Constantinople many Greek scholars fled to western Europe, and there took part in the Revival of Learning. The departure of these learned and thoughtful men seriously weakened the intellectual life of the Eastern Church. The clergy became ignorant, and preaching practically ceased. At the time when the minds of men in the West were being roused by the Renaissance, the very opposite was going on in the Eastern Church. One reason why the Eastern Church did not share in the Reformation was that it never had the intellectual awakening which the West received to prepare the way for it.

Thus the Turkish triumph was in every possible way a fearful blow to the Eastern Church. It is a proof of the power of Christianity that the church survived at all.

Rise of Russia and its church

Soon after the fall of the Eastern Empire, there rose in the north a new empire, the Russian. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries strong kings built up a united Russian nation. From the fall of Constantinople the Russian Church was largely independent. In name it was still subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, but its chief bishop, the metropolitan of Moscow, was no longer chosen by him. Because of the degraded state of the church in the Turkish domains, and the rise of the power of Russia, the church in that country became the most important part of the Eastern Church. This was expressed by the raising of the metropolitan of Moscow to the rank of patriarch in 1587.

During the next century the Russian Church showed some new life, especially under the famous patriarch Nicon. He brought about an improvement in clerical morals and education, and some revival of preaching. In doctrine, however, there was no change. No progress was made toward a purer form of Christian teaching. When Protestantism invaded Russia from the west, it was fiercely driven out. Nor did the religion of priests and people become freer from superstition.

The Uniates

During the Counter-Reformation, while the Roman Catholic Church was striving for conquest on every side, it attempted to gain Russia. It succeeded in some regions in the southwestern part of the country, but only by offering very liberal terms. All that was asked of those who came over to it from the Eastern Church was submission to the Pope. They were allowed to keep their own form of worship and religious customs, among them the marriage of priests. These people were called Uniates. Among the Slavs in the United States are many Uniates, Roman Catholics of the Greek rite, or Greek Catholics who obey the Pope.

Present government of the Russian Church

Early in the eighteenth century the czar Peter the Great gave to the Russian Church the form of government which it still has. In place of the patriarch he put the Holy Synod. This was a body of bishops and priests chosen by the czar, presided over by a government officer, a layman, called the High Procurator. The Russian Church is now ruled by the Synod, which in theory is independent, but really is controlled by the czar.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What was Gallicanism? What party opposed the Gallicans? What does "Ultramontane" mean?

2. Why did the Jesuits become unpopular in France? Why did the governments of other countries proceed against them? What action did the Pope take in regard to them?

3. Describe the condition of the Huguenots in the early seventeenth century. Why were they valuable to France?

4. Describe the persecution of the Huguenots. What was the result of it?

5. What caused hostility to the Roman Catholic Church to grow among the French people in the eighteenth century?

6. Describe the actions of the French revolutionary governments toward the Roman Catholic Church and toward religion.

7. Describe German Protestantism in the years following the Reformation. What caused the final separation of the Lutherans and the Reformed?

8. What was the state of religion in Germany in the latter half of the seventeenth century?

9. What were the teachings and methods of Spener?

10. What was the result of Spener's work? Describe the growth and power of Pietism.

11. What connection did Pietism have with missions? What influence did it have outside of Germany?

12. How did the Moravian Brotherhood come into being?

13. Describe the missions of the Moravians.

14. What caused another decline of religion in Germany, in the eighteenth century?

15. What was the effect on the Eastern Church of the fall of Constantinople?

16. How was the Eastern Church affected by the rise of Russia?

17. Who are the "Uniates"? How is the Russian Church now governed?

READING

Schwill: "Political History of Modern Europe," chs. XII, XVI, on French history in this period; ch. XIV, on German history.

Sheldon: "History of the Christian Church," Vol. III, pp. 459-516, on Gallicanism and the Huguenot persecution; Vol. IV, pp. 290-355, on French religious affairs in the eighteenth century; Vol. III, pp. 579-598, Vol IV, pp. 383-401, on German religious history in the period of this chapter.

Newman: "Manual of Church History," Vol. II, pp. 480-488, 590-600, on the Huguenot persecution and the later history of French Protestantism; pp. 428-445, 468-479, on Gallicanism, the Jesuits, and the events of the French Revolution; pp. 520-542, on German religious history in this period.

Baird: "The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes."

Article "Pietism" in Schaff-Herzog's Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.

Articles "Zinzendorf" and "Moravian Brotherhood" in Encyclopædia Britannica.

Warneck: "History of Protestant Missions," Part I, ch. III, on Pietist and Moravian missions.

Adeney: "The Greek and Eastern Churches," Part I, Division II, ch. VIII, and Part II, Division II, chs. I-II, on the fall of Constantinople and its results; Part II, Division III, chs. III-V, on the Russian Church.

CHAPTER XV

EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

(CONTINUED)

(A. D. 1648-1800)

IV. PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND

A. PURITAN RULE

Puritan reform of the Church of England

Through their majority in the Long Parliament the Puritans at last had power to make over the Church of England as they desired.[1] With this in view, Parliament called the Westminster Assembly (1643-1649), composed of leading Puritan theologians. Its work was to prepare and lay before Parliament plans for a thorough reform of the national church. At the same time Parliament, in order to get the help of Scotland in its war against King Charles, took the Solemn League and Covenant. This, an enlargement of the earlier Scottish Covenant,[2] bound those who took it to maintain the Scottish Church as it was established at the Reformation, and also to bring the national churches of England and Ireland into uniformity with it. This meant to make them Presbyterian. Because of this agreement, a few commissioners

Westminster Assembly

Solemn League and Covenant

[1] See p. 73.

[2] See p. 72.

representing Scotland were added to the Assembly. Parliament then required the Assembly to follow its own example by taking the Covenant. Thus the question of what form of church government it should recommend for the Church of England was decided for the Assembly. But in any case it would have chosen a Presbyterian form, for among its members Presbyterians were in the majority.

Work of Westminster Assembly

The Assembly drew up and submitted to Parliament a complete constitution for the Church of England. Besides the scheme for church government, this included the Confession of Faith, intended as a creed for the Church, directions for worship and discipline, and the two Catechisms, Larger and Shorter.

The church Presbyterian by law, not in fact

The Assembly's scheme for church government was adopted by Parliament, and thus the Church of England was made Presbyterian by law. But this was never carried out to any great extent. The country was in confusion because of the war between Parliament and King Charles, and a growing number of the supporters of the Parliamentary cause were opposed to making Presbyterianism the established form of religion, to which all must conform. Many were Independents or Congregationalists. Some were Baptists, who agreed with the Independents regarding church government. There were also various smaller sects. These men desired religious freedom, not uniformity, Presbyterian or otherwise. This feeling was especially strong in the sturdy Puritan army which, under

the great Oliver Cromwell, conquered the king's followers.

Church affairs under the Commonwealth

The execution of the king in 1649 was followed by the setting up of the Commonwealth government, with Cromwell at its head as Lord Protector. During its short life church matters remained unsettled. There was a measure of religious freedom, for Cromwell believed in this, not entirely, but more largely than his times did. Roman Catholicism was not allowed, or episcopacy, the old form of government of the Church of England, because these were considered politically dangerous. Aside from these there were churches of various kinds—principally Presbyterian, Congregationalist and Baptist.

The Friends

It was in this time that the Society of Friends, nicknamed the "Quakers," appeared. For years England had been full of disputes about church matters, centering chiefly about questions of church government, the ministry, the sacraments and worship. Weariness of this caused a number of earnest Christian people to accept the teaching of George Fox, that the Church ought to be ruled and taught directly by the Spirit of God, and ought not to have any fixed system of government or specially appointed ministry or regular form of worship. George Fox was one of the strongest religious leaders of his time, and an ardent evangelist, who won many converts.

Government by the Puritans

Under the Commonwealth the Puritans had opportunity to work out their ideal regarding government, which was that it should be a means of

strengthening religion and morality among the people. Parliament decided to appoint no man to office "but such as the House shall be satisfied of his real godliness." Laws were passed requiring a high standard of personal morality. The severity of Puritan goodness showed itself in an attack on popular amusements. The theaters were closed. Brutal sports were stopped, and also some harmless pleasures long dear to the people, such as the keeping of Christmas and the Maypole revels. The Puritans' policy in this matter of amusements turned many of the English people against their rule. Many also disapproved of their attempt to enforce their ideal of righteousness on the nation at once, by law. With all their splendid traits of character, there were in the Puritans a certain tyranny and a narrowness which were bound to make their government unpopular. Their best work for England was not to be done by laws and force.

B. THE RESTORATION

The church again Episcopalian

The Puritan rule was followed by a sharp reaction against all that it had brought in. In 1660 the monarchy was restored, under Charles II, son of the king who had been put to death. At once the new government restored the national church to the form which it had had before the Puritan victory, the form given it at the time of the Reformation. The bishops came back to their sees, and the Book of Common Prayer again became the rule of all worship. Parliament ordered all min-

isters to declare their entire approval of the prayer book.

The Great Ejectment

For refusing to do this about two thousand ministers, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists, were "ejected" from their churches. In spite of the dangers of the law, many of them continued to preach at meetings outside the churches, and thousands of their people risked imprisonment by hearing them. At this "Great Ejectment" of 1662, when these people of Puritan views were cast out of the Church of England, there were laid the foundations of the English Free Churches.

Persecution of dissent

There followed further attempts to suppress dissent from the established church. Acts of Parliament forbade attendance at religious meetings other than the services of the church under heavy penalties. For such an offense John Bunyan was imprisoned for twelve years. It was in Bedford jail that he wrote "The Pilgrim's Progress." But in spite of the severe enforcement of these laws against dissent, it lived on.

Immorality in society

The opposition to Puritanism which was shown in all this action of Parliament appeared also in the wild orgy of immorality which swept over the English aristocracy and somewhat affected other parts of the nation, in the years just after 1660. After the strictness of the Puritan rule, things swung to the other extreme. The example of a corrupt king furthered this tendency. At the time it looked as if Puritanism had met with complete overthrow. This was not the case, however, as appeared when the reaction had spent itself.

Puritanism had done a deep, abiding work in the English people, giving them a serious, earnest character which they have never lost.

C. THE REVOLUTION

The events of this time showed, however, that the majority of the people preferred that their national church should remain as it was made at the Reformation, rather than as the Puritans would have made it. This did not mean that their Protestantism was at all doubtful. That it was not doubtful appeared when James II, successor of Charles II, set out to make the Church of England Roman Catholic. The nation revolted against his purpose and the tyranny by which he sought to achieve it. The leaders of all political parties called upon William, Prince of Orange and Stadholder of Holland, whose wife, Mary, was a daughter of the king, to come with an army for the protection of English liberty and Protestantism. The country rose to welcome him when he landed, the king fled to France, and William and Mary became sovereigns of England.

James II failed to make England Roman Catholic

This bloodless Revolution of 1689 decided for England several questions of the highest importance. It was settled that the supreme power belonged to the people; for William and Mary became sovereigns by Acts of Parliament, through which the people spoke. Thus the long struggle against tyrannical kings for the liberty of the people, in which the Puritans had played a great part since the reign of James I, ended in victory.

The Revolution decided (1) that power in the state belonged to the people

Here we see the relation between Protestantism and political liberty. The doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, according to which every man has access to God in his own right, is bound to make men know and demand their political rights. Secondly, England's character as a Protestant nation was finally settled. Parliament declared this by changing the Coronation Oath so that the king was required to swear loyalty to "the Protestant Reformed religion established by law." Thirdly, freedom of worship was gained for all Protestants who dissented from the Church of England. In the Toleration Act of 1689 England finally abandoned the idea of compelling all its people to hold one form of religion. Thenceforth not only the Church of England, but also the Nonconformist or, as they are now more often called, Free Churches, had liberty to maintain their life. Freedom of worship was still denied, however, to Roman Catholics.

(2) that England was Protestant

(3) that there should be religious freedom

High Church and Low Church

In the reign of William and Mary there appeared in the Church of England a party division which was to have great effect on the religious life of England, and ultimately on that of America. The parties were those called High Church and Low Church. The division arose over questions of church government and the ministry. The High-Churchmen held that government by bishops was divinely ordained for the Church, that the bishops stood in succession from the apostles, and that the only valid ministry was that created by ordination at the hands of a bishop. Hence they re-

garded the Nonconformists as having no true ministry. The Low-Churchmen, although they approved of government by bishops, did not hold these "high" views, and were willing to recognize the Nonconformist ministry.

D. RELIGIOUS WEAKNESS IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Low state of religion

English religious life for nearly fifty years after the Revolution presents a dreary picture of general indifference and deadness. In the Church of England most of the clergy were men of little earnestness. Many were worldly and selfish, mere officeholders; some were dissolute "sporting parsons." The duties of bishops and parish ministers were largely neglected. Preaching consisted mostly of theological discussions, remote from life. Little was done for the religious needs of the people, and many drifted out of relation to the church. For years no forward movements of any kind were made, no new parishes organized, no missionary work done. The Nonconformists had no more vigorous life than the Church of England. The general spirit of religion in England was one of formality and coldness. Religious forms were commonly observed, but religious enthusiasm was rare.

Evils of the national life

There was the greatest need for a living, practical Christianity, to grapple with the gross evils of the national life. The vices prevalent in fashionable society since the Restoration had infected other classes. The prevailing moral tone was low.

Drunkenness increased much in the first half of the eighteenth century. Poverty grew apace, the poor rates being trebled between 1714 and 1750. In the towns crime and disorder were common, in spite of the brutal penal laws. One of the worst features of the situation was that the higher classes of society were ignorant of and indifferent to the state of the lower.

E. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY REVIVAL

John Wesley's youth

Into this state of things came John Wesley, the man raised up by God to awaken the spiritual life of England, and to bring into the world the strongest religious impulse which it has received since the Reformation. He was born in 1703 in his father's rectory at Epworth in Lincolnshire. His father was one of the few earnest and active men in the ministry of the Church of England at that time, and his mother was a gifted and saintly woman. At Oxford he distinguished himself as a scholar. Then he entered the ministry and served a while as his father's curate. Returning to Oxford as a Greek lecturer, he became the leader of a group of students who were unusually scrupulous and methodical in their observance of religious services and college duties. Hence they were nicknamed the "Holy Club" and the "Methodists." Among them were his brother Charles and a poor student from Gloucester named George Whitefield.

Wesley in Georgia

A few years later John Wesley went to Georgia, in answer to General Oglethorpe's call for min-

isters for his new colony. This experience was brief and unsuccessful. At this time he was a man of zealous but rather severe and formal piety. He held High Church opinions, and made much of observance of the rules and seasons of the church. By narrow-minded insistence on this he came to grief in Georgia.

Wesley's conversion

There he fell in with some Moravian missionaries, in whom he saw a Christian confidence and joy which he had never known. Thus began a great change in his religious life. This went on after his return to England, under the influence of other Moravians. It culminated in his "conversion," which occurred in 1738, during a religious service in London. Of course, Wesley was not converted in the ordinary sense of the word. But he gained such a wonderful new understanding of the salvation that comes through faith in Christ, and took that salvation home to himself so much more than before, that it was a new birth for him. "I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation, and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

The next year Wesley did the first of the work that made him the leader in the great revival. In March, 1739, he preached outdoors to a gathering of some neglected people near Bristol, among whom George Whitefield had been preaching for a few weeks. In 1735 Whitefield had had an experience much like Wesley's conversion. Soon afterwards he became a preacher of remarkable power, draw-

George Whitefield

ing great crowds to hear him. He then succeeded Wesley in Georgia. During a visit to England he preached to these forsaken colliers near Bristol. To this field he now summoned Wesley.

Wesley's life work

From this time for nearly fifty years Wesley labored unwearyingly and tremendously. At first he confined himself to working with companies of people in Bristol, London and Newcastle. In 1742 he began his marvelous work as an itinerant preacher. For more than forty years he traveled four or five thousand miles a year and preached about fifteen times a week. He visited all parts of England, and did much work in Scotland and Ireland. He often met with opposition, and sometimes with attacks by mobs, but was undaunted by any obstacles or hardships. Wherever he preached he organized Methodist "societies," really churches, though not so called. To care for them he built up his heroic company of lay preachers, to whom the permanence of the work was largely due.

Work of Charles Wesley and Whitefield

Two other powerful workers in the revival were Charles Wesley and Whitefield. Charles Wesley was an effective preacher, but his chief contribution was made through his hymns, of which he wrote over six thousand. They were eagerly taken up by the societies, and were a great power in the movement. Many of them have won permanent places among Christian hymns. Whitefield for years was enormously active as a traveling evangelist. He did not work with Wesley, as they had early separated because of a theological difference. He made long tours in the British Isles and also

in America, which he visited seven times. For fifteen years he preached forty or more times a week. Astonishing stories are told of the power of his oratory over his great audiences. Unlike Wesley, he was merely a preacher, and organized nothing. However he exerted a great influence by preaching.

Opposition of Anglicans to the revival

Although the Wesleys and Whitefield were clergymen of the Church of England, they were not allowed to preach in its churches. For a long time the Anglican[1] clergy were almost wholly ignorant of the real nature and value of their work. The excitement sometimes caused by their preaching was distasteful to an age that prized moderation and restraint in all things. Their habit of preaching in other men's parishes without permission caused great complaint. For such reasons they were excluded from the churches, and from many of the clergy received either bitter opposition or contempt.

Evangelical revival in the Church of England

Nevertheless the great movement which they started could not but affect the Church of England. There grew up a strong party called the "Evangelicals," composed of clergymen and laymen who were influenced by the revival. This influence appeared in personal religion, preaching and all ministerial work, and laymen's service. Of this party were John Newton, Toplady, the author of "Rock of Ages," and William Wilberforce, the great antislavery leader. Toward the end of the century the Evangelicals became domi-

[1] That is, belonging to the Church of England.

nant in the church. Since many of them were people of wealth and high place, they greatly affected the life of England.

The preaching of the revival

The preaching of the revival was, as Wesley said, nothing new. It was the proclamation of God's free grace in Christ, and of salvation through faith in Christ, and the call to repentance and faith. The hymns of the revival, such as Charles Wesley's "Jesus, Lover of my soul," Cowper's "Hark, my soul, it is the Lord," and Toplady's "Rock of Ages" show the great truths that were taught and learned. This old evangelical message, which for years had been almost unheard in England, was now given with passionate earnestness.

F. THE RESULTS OF THE REVIVAL

Formation of the Methodist Church

One great result of the revival was the formation of a new church, the Methodist. Wesley did not desire this. He loved the Church of England, and wished that the people who became Christians under his preaching and that of his fellow workers could be taken into it. The organization of a new church was forced upon him. For the Anglican clergy were generally unsympathetic or hostile toward him for many years, until the Evangelical party gained strength. Nor did the Nonconformists make any place for his work. Gradually he formed his societies and preachers into a church, and in 1784 the Wesleyan, or Methodist, Church was fully organized. Seven years later, at Wesley's death, it had seventy-seven thousand members.

Spiritual awakening of England

A still greater result of the revival was a spiritual awakening of England, affecting the nation widely and deeply. Thousands of people who had been living in practical heathenism because of the neglect of the Church of England, were gathered into the Methodist societies. Most of them belonged to the working classes, and thus a powerful religious influence entered this part of English society. Through the activity of the Evangelical party, Christianity became far more of a power among the aristocracy than it had been, and a far higher moral standard ruled there. The Church of England and the Nonconformist Churches to a great extent received a new spirit. A fresh enthusiasm took possession of English religious life, driving out the lukewarmness and dryness of the early eighteenth century.

Social service

This religious awakening showed itself in a wonderful enlargement of Christian service. The love of God, felt with new power through the preaching of the revival, stirred men to love and serve their brethren. Modern philanthropy or social service thus got its first powerful impetus. The first Sunday school was opened in 1780 by Robert Raikes in Gloucester. This was one of the early steps in popular education in England, as well as the beginning of the Sunday-school movement. Raikes's school was for poor children growing up in ignorance, and general education as well as religious instruction was given them. The Christian conscience of England, aroused by Wilberforce and other Evangelicals, abolished the slave trade.

The heroic John Howard brought about the beginnings of prison reform. The first blow was struck at child labor, under Wilberforce's leadership. Public care of the poor became more kindly and intelligent. Many hospitals and other charities were founded.

Rise of the modern missionary movement

Greatest of all the results of the revival was the rise of the modern missionary movement. Other influences, particularly recent discoveries in the southern Pacific, the "South Seas," had to do with this. But without the impulse to Christian service which the religious revival gave, the missionary revival would never have occurred. The splendid honor of leadership in the awakening of missions belongs to William Carey, a cobbler and Baptist lay preacher. In the face of contemptuous opposition he pressed on his associates his vision of the conversion of the non-Christian world. Finally in 1792 he secured the organization of the Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen. Its first missionary was Carey himself, whom it sent to his noble work in India. The Baptist example was soon followed. The London Missionary Society was formed in 1795, chiefly by Congregationalists, and the Church Missionary Society in 1799 by the Evangelicals of the Church of England. The Methodists also early took up the cause. All the great religious bodies of England felt the missionary inspiration by the end of the century. Their enthusiasm spread to Scotland, America and the continent of Europe.

V. PROTESTANTISM IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

A. THE COVENANTERS

The Church of Scotland made Episcopalian

In our account of English affairs in this chapter we saw the devotion of Scotland to Presbyterianism manifested in the Solemn League and Covenant. But the restoration of Charles II was followed by a reaction like that in England. In 1661 the Scottish Parliament reëstablished bishops in the Church of Scotland and declared the king its head. It also removed from their parishes many of the ministers, and replaced them by incompetent men. Against this the people generally protested by deserting the churches and hearing the ejected ministers in their own houses or out of doors. The government then undertook to enforce church attendance by oppressive laws.

The Covenanters and their persecutions

The answer to this was the rise of the Covenanters, a strong body of people who clung to the ancient Presbyterian order and to the church's independence of governmental control. The savage persecutions directed against them only made them more determined. Their opposition to the government finally became armed rebellion, ending in the battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679, where they were defeated. After this some of the Covenanters promised to keep the peace. But others, called "Cameronians" after their leader, Richard Cameron, would make no submission, or recognize a government which demanded what they considered wrong. In the west of Scotland these people were hunted from place to place, men and women giv-

ing up homes and lives rather than violate their convictions of the will of God. Their worst sufferings came in the "Killing Times" of 1684-1688, at the hands of the terrible Claverhouse and his dragoons.

The Church of Scotland again Presbyterian

The persecution came to an end at the accession of William and Mary, in 1689. Then Presbyterianism was restored in the Church of Scotland, never again to be disturbed. Some of the Cameronians did not approve of this settlement because nothing was said about the Covenant which was so dear to them. Hence they refused to have a part in the reorganized Church of Scotland. Out of them grew the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

B. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN SCOTLAND

The national church

The Established Church, made Presbyterian in 1689, was the Church of Scotland in much more than name, for it represented truly the religious opinions of the people. The great majority of them were Presbyterians, and of these all but a very few were in the national church. The union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland in 1707 left Scotland without any Parliament or other political institutions of its own. The Established Church became the great organization of the Scottish people.

Decline of religion

Scottish religious life during the eighteenth century was marked by a general indifference and inactivity much like what existed in England before the great revival. The ministry was not enthusiastic or aggressive. When Wesley and White-

field entered the country, they were opposed by the Church of Scotland as they had been by the Church of England. The general revival in England did not have its counterpart in Scotland, which had to wait for its religious awakening until the nineteenth century. The missionary revival touched Scotland to some extent, two societies being founded in 1796. But in the same year the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland passed its famous or infamous resolution that "to spread the knowledge of the gospel amongst barbarous and heathen nations seems to be highly preposterous." Missions were not taken up by the church until 1824.

Dissenters from the national church

A more earnest spirit was shown by some bodies of dissenters. They did not differ from the church as to Presbyterianism, but they were enthusiastic evangelical believers and preachers, like the followers of Wesley and Whitefield. Hence they were out of tune with the Established Church. They also objected strongly to "lay patronage," the system by which the minister of a parish was appointed, not by the people, but by the great landowner of the parish, the "patron." This was the regular method of appointing ministers in the Church of Scotland. For these two reasons two considerable bodies seceded from the Church of Scotland, forming independent Presbyterian churches.

C. IRISH PRESBYTERIANISM

During the first half of the seventeenth century large tracts of land in the north of Ireland were

seized by the English Government because its possessors had been rebels. The Irish people who lived here were turned out homeless, and wandered off to the south. Their places were taken by settlers whom the government brought from Scotland and England, chiefly from the former country. During the "Killing Times" later in the century, other Scottish people fled to Ireland. Thus the province of Ulster came to be inhabited largely by Scottish people, almost all of whom were Presbyterians. This is the origin of the "Scotch-Irish" people. In the course of the next century they were badly treated by landlords. They were also interfered with by the established Church of Ireland, which was Episcopalian, like the Church of England. Therefore between 1713 and 1775 many thousands of the Scotch-Irish emigrated to America, where they played a great part.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Who called the Westminster Assembly, and for what purpose? Who were its members? What did it do?
2. What was the Solemn League and Covenant? Who subscribed to it?
3. Why was not Presbyterianism really established in England?
4. What was the state of church affairs under the Commonwealth?
5. Describe the origin of the Society of Friends.
6. Describe government as carried on by the Puritans.
7. Why did many of the English people welcome the end of Puritan rule? What permanent work did Puritanism do?
8. What was the Great Ejectment? How were dissenters treated under Charles II?

9. How did James II lose his crown?

10. What three decisions were made by the Revolution of 1689?

11. What was the origin of the "High-Church" and "Low-Church" parties?

12. Describe the religious and moral condition of England in the early eighteenth century.

13. Describe the early life of John Wesley, and his "conversion."

14. Describe his work after his conversion.

15. Describe the work of Charles Wesley and George Whitefield.

16. What was the effect of the Wesleyan revival on the Church of England?

17. Describe these results of the eighteenth century revival:

a. The formation of the Methodist Church. Why did Wesley form a new church?

b. The general spiritual awakening of England.

c. The social service movement.

d. The missionary awakening.

18. Who were the Covenanters? How were their persecutions ended?

19. Describe Scottish religious life in the eighteenth century. Why did some Presbyterians secede from the Church of Scotland?

20. What was the origin of Irish Presbyterianism?

READING

Green: "Short History of the English People," ch. VIII, Secs. VI-X, on Puritan rule in England, including the attempt to establish Presbyterianism; ch. IX, Secs. I-III, on the Restoration; ch. IX, Secs. VI-VIII, on James II, the Revolution, and the accession of William and Mary; ch. X, Sec. I, on England in the early eighteenth century; ch. VII, Sec. VIII, and ch. VIII, Sec. X, on the plantation of Ulster.

Sheldon: "History of the Christian Church," Vol. III, pp.

523-578, on the religious history of England, Scotland and Ireland in the seventeenth century; Vol. IV, pp. 1-125, on the same in the eighteenth.

Beveridge: "The Westminster Assembly."

Braithwaite: "The Beginnings of Quakerism."

Simon: "The Revival of Religion in England in the Eighteenth Century."

Overton: "The Evangelical Revival."

Winchester: "John Wesley."

"Wesley's Journal" (preferably the new edition by Curnock).

Lord Balfour of Burleigh: "Presbyterianism in Scotland," chs. V-VII.

Smellie: "Men of the Covenant."

Fleming: "The Burning Bush," chs. XII-XVI, on Scottish Presbyterianism in this period; ch. XXI, the Irish Presbyterianism.

CHAPTER XVI

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN EUROPE

I. ROMAN CATHOLICISM

A. THE PAPACY AND NAPOLEON

The papacy in humiliation

The opening of the nineteenth century saw the papacy in great humiliation. In 1801 Napoleon, then ruler of France, made with Pope Pius VII the Concordat, a kind of treaty defining the relations of the Roman Catholic Church in France and the government. By this "the Church was harnessed to the State," being made in great part subject to the government, though also supported by it. These terms involved a serious loss of authority for the Pope, but he was helpless before the all-powerful Napoleon. When the Pope, as sovereign of the Papal States, disobeyed his wishes in a matter of European policy, Napoleon entered Rome with an army, annexed the Papal States to his empire (1809), and made the Pope a prisoner.

B. ROMAN CATHOLICISM FROM 1814 TO THE VATICAN COUNCIL

Roman Catholic revival

Upon Napoleon's downfall, Pius VII returned to Rome, and the Papal States were reëstablished. Among the rulers who now controlled Europe the Roman Catholic Church had much favor, because it was a conservative force in politics, counting

against the progress of democracy and likely to be a safeguard against any more overturnings such as the French Revolution. Moreover, the whole tendency of thought in Europe for the time was reactionary. What belonged to the past was prized above what belonged to the modern world. This condition was friendly to Roman Catholicism, the form of Christianity developed in the Middle Ages and still remaining substantially medieval. Thus the Roman Catholic Church, after it had passed through a time of some depression in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, now received a revival of power. In its revived condition, it set its face strongly against modern progress of all kinds, and developed its medieval elements.

The magnifying of the papacy

The most important of these elements was the absolute supremacy of the Pope. A significant and far-reaching feature of the Roman Catholic awakening was the revival in 1814 of the order of the Jesuits, the soldiers of the papacy. Chiefly under their direction, a vigorous campaign to exalt the papal monarchy was waged throughout the church.

Pius IX

All these tendencies found fullest expression in Pius IX, who had the longest of all pontificates, from 1846 to 1878. During these years he shaped the policy which the Roman Catholic Church has had to this day. Undoubtedly he sincerely believed, just as much as any medieval Pope believed, that limitless authority belonged to his office by divine right. In 1854 he declared that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the

Virgin was a part of the faith of the church. Thus he took to himself the right to define doctrine, which hitherto had been exercised only by general councils. Naturally he added his tremendous power to the work that was going on for the magnifying of the papal office.

The papacy's hostility to the progress of the modern world, manifested in various ways since early in the nineteenth century, was fully declared by Pius IX in his famous Syllabus of Errors, in 1864. In this document many precious elements of modern liberty and civilization were denounced as "errors." Such are freedom of conscience and worship, the idea that the church ought not to use force to carry out its will, separation of church and state, freedom of schools from church control, the regulation of marriage by the state, the idea that the state has authority superior to the church. Pius IX's successor, Leo XIII, declared (1878) that the statements of the Syllabus had the authority of infallibility. Therefore they may fairly be taken as expressing the spirit of the papacy in the nineteenth century.

The papacy hostile to progress

C. THE VATICAN COUNCIL

This was a general council, the first held after that of Trent. Its meeting and decisions were the outcome of the campaign to exalt the papacy. They were also the climax of the whole policy of Pius IX. He manipulated everything most carefully, before and during the council, so that it should decide as he had planned. Out of about

seven hundred bishops composing the council, a quarter were opposed to the well-known purpose of the Pope and the Jesuits to get a decision for papal infallibility. In character and education, these men were the strongest part of the body. Their opposition, however, was ineffectual, and the decrees of the council were finally voted almost unanimously, in July, 1870.

Among the decrees, that concerning infallibility attracted most attention. But one other decision was very important. It declared the Pope's authority to be unlimited and immediate in every part of the church. He was thus made an absolute monarch. The statement of the doctrine of papal infallibility was worded in a very guarded way, so that there has been considerable dispute among Roman Catholics as to how much it means. It does not say that in every utterance the Pope is infallible, but that "the Roman Pontiff, when . . . he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals as to be held by the universal Church, . . . possesses that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer wished his church to be equipped in defining doctrine concerning faith and morals." By this decision and the one concerning the Pope's authority, all the powers formerly belonging to general councils were given to the Pope, so that now his supremacy can in no way be challenged.

Papal monarchy absolute

Infallibility

D. THE LOSS OF THE TEMPORAL POWER

The movement for a united free Italy, which began in 1848, went on until, by 1860, both the

northern and the southern parts of the country had come under the rule of an Italian king, Victor Emmanuel of Piedmont. But across the peninsula at its middle stretched the Papal States. The patriot leaders and the whole Italian people saw that Italy could never be one while the papal sovereignty remained. Pius IX would yield nothing, thus setting the papacy in opposition to the national ideals of the Italians. In 1870 Victor Emmanuel, having previously annexed to the kingdom of Italy large portions of the Papal States, entered Rome with his army. The city was added to his kingdom, the people voting almost unanimously for this, and made the capital of Italy. The Pope was no longer a temporal ruler. The king of Italy reigned in Rome.

The "prisoner in the Vatican"

But the Popes have never regarded him as having any right there. Though treated by the Italian Government with great consideration, and allowed to keep sovereignty over the Vatican, they have steadily protested against the whole situation, insisting that the Holy See has been robbed. Since 1870 no Pope has ever gone into the streets of Rome, for to do that, it is said, would be to recognize the government which rules there. The Pope remains a voluntary "prisoner in the Vatican."

E. THE PAPACY SINCE 1870

Leo XIII

Pius IX was followed in 1878 by Leo XIII, a man of much culture, a successful ruler of the church, notably shrewd and tactful. He did not

depart from the policy of Pius IX, and yielded nothing of the papal claims. But he was diplomatic in his methods, especially in his relations with the European governments. His pontificate of twenty-five years was for the most part tranquil, and advantageous to the church.

Pius X

He was succeeded by Pius X, a man of narrow mind and obstinate temper, who has met several storms. In France a long period of friction between the government and the church ended in 1905 in the passage of the law separating church and state, and stopping governmental payment of clerical salaries. The Pope has steadily and bitterly condemned this action, though it has proved beneficial to the church's life. When Portugal became a republic, in 1911, church and state were separated there, and religious freedom established. This also received papal condemnation. In these cases, as in Italy, the papacy has consistently refused to acknowledge the authority of the state as superior to its own. Another difficulty of Pius X's pontificate has been caused by a progressive theological movement in the church, called Modernism, which he has fought with discipline and excommunication.

Character of the modern papacy

It must be said that the modern papacy is, in its ideas and desires, essentially medieval. It stands opposed to modern progress and liberty, religious, intellectual and political. It has exerted its vast power to keep the Roman Catholic Church medieval.

II. PROTESTANTISM ON THE CONTINENT

A. GERMANY

Religious weakness

The opening of the century found German Protestantism much depressed. The break-up of governments under Napoleon's hands had been a serious blow to church organization, for the churches of the Protestant states of Germany were established churches. Religious life still suffered from the weakness prevailing in the later eighteenth century.[1]

Revival, and new organizations

But very soon there came a decided revival of religion. With it came rebuilding of religious organizations. In 1817 a new national church, called Evangelical, including both the Lutherans and the Reformed, was formed in Prussia. This example was generally followed in the other Protestant states of Germany. Thus the two great branches of German Protestantism were united. The union was not approved, however, by the stricter Lutherans, and some of them formed independent churches.

The intellectual side of religion

A feature of the religious revival was a great increase in the study of theology and the Bible. Germany soon exercised strong influence over the religious thought of Great Britain and America. This activity of German Protestantism on the intellectual side of religion, and this influence over thought in other countries, have continued ever since.

The present Protestant church organization in

[1] See p. 103.

Church government at present

Prussia was shaped in 1873 by Bismarck. There is an Evangelical State Church, including both Lutherans and Reformed. It is governed by a general synod and provincial and district synods. The government exercises a rather rigid control over the church, which is not helpful to religious life. The other Protestant states have church organizations similar to that of Prussia.

In general, the Protestant and Roman Catholic portions of Germany are about what they were at the close of the Thirty Years' War. Of the population of the German Empire, sixty-two per cent are Evangelical and thirty-six per cent Roman Catholics.[1]

B. FRANCE

Protestantism supported by the state

Napoleon put Protestantism on the same basis as Roman Catholicism, that is, it received financial support from the government and was under the control of the government. Thus there arose two French Protestant established churches, Reformed and Lutheran. The former, much the larger, represented the old church of the Huguenots. About the middle of the century there came a division in the Reformed Church. After a widespread revival of evangelical Christianity, a considerable number of its clergy and members felt that the church was not enough in sympathy with such teaching. They therefore left it, and formed free churches, having no connection with the government. When church and state were separated in 1905, all Prot-

Separation of Church and State

[1] Census of 1900.

estants had to undertake the support of their churches, which they are doing successfully. The Protestants of France now number about six hundred and fifty thousand, thus forming a very small part of the population.

C. HOLLAND, SWITZERLAND, SCANDINAVIA, HUNGARY

In Holland the old Reformed Church, organized in the sixteenth century, still remains the state church, but it is largely self-governing. About the middle of the century, as in France, there was a powerful evangelical revival, and many of those who were awakened by it became dissatisfied with the teaching of the state church. They organized a free Reformed Church, which has become a strong organization. There are also several other smaller Protestant bodies, as well as the Roman Catholics; for there is complete religious liberty in Holland. The great majority of the people are Protestant.

Ever since the Reformation, religious matters in Switzerland have been regulated by the cantons separately, except that in 1874 the federal constitution provided that there should be everywhere full freedom of conscience and worship. Protestantism and Roman Catholicism still hold about the same parts of the country that they held in the sixteenth century. Each canton has its own established church, or churches; for in some both Protestantism and Roman Catholicism are established.[1] Over three-fifths of the Swiss people are Protestants.

[1] Geneva in 1907 separated church and state.

In Denmark, Norway and Sweden the Lutheran Church remains established, as at the Reformation. Very nearly all the people of these nations belong to this church, but all three have religious liberty.

Over one-fifth of the people of Hungary are Protestants. Of these a third are Lutherans, and the remainder, consisting almost wholly of people of the Magyar race, are Calvinists.

III. PROTESTANTISM IN GREAT BRITAIN

A. ENGLAND

Three great movements ran through English religious life during the whole nineteenth century, and still are powerful. These we may call the Evangelical, the Liberal or Broad Church, and the Tractarian or Oxford movements. All of the three have had much influence on American religious life.

1. The Evangelical Movement

Power of the movement

At the opening of the century the Evangelical movement was the greatest power in English religious life. This was the result of the wonderful revival of the preceding century. It was represented in the Church of England by the Evangelical party,[1] containing many eminent clergymen and laymen; and it ruled the Nonconformist or Free Churches. Personal religion and church life were to a great extent marked by the enthu-

[1] See pp. 121-122.

siasm and fervor created by the revival. The tide of philanthropic service and missionary work to which the revival had given rise was flowing strongly.

Its type of religion

The chief marks of the Evangelical movement were two, aggressive activity in Christian service and intense personal piety. Of these an example is William Wilberforce, whose great career belongs to both this century and the preceding. Devotion to the Bible was another mark of the Evangelicals. While there were many educated men among them, they were not greatly interested in the study of theology. Their main concern was with the practical use of Christian truth. The religious ideas they most dwelt upon were those emphasized in the eighteenth century revival — God's love in Christ, salvation through faith, the atonement, the new birth.

The Evangelicals and church questions

The Evangelicals of the Church of England were thoroughly loyal to their church and approved of its episcopal government. But they were willing to work with Nonconformist ministers and churches. Their chief interest was not in the church and its organization and rites. They considered the preaching of the gospel more important than the sacraments. They did not pay great attention to matters of ritual. Thus they held the position of the old "Low-Church" party.[1] They were stanch Protestants, putting the Bible above the teaching of the church.

The Evangelical movement continued to be a

[1] See p. 117.

power in England through the century, and is such to-day. It has kept producing earnest personal religious life, a sensitive conscience of national evils, zealous effort for the public good, abundant charities, and ever-growing missionary work. Within the Church of England the Evangelical spirit has lost some of the strength which it had at the opening of the century. But in the Free Churches it has remained the ruling influence.

2. The Liberal Movement

The main interest of the Liberal or Broad Church movement was in the search for a better understanding of religious truth. Early in the century there was a revival of study having this object, caused largely by the influence of German philosophy and theology. Scholars devoted themselves with enthusiasm to the study of the Bible, church history, Christian doctrine, and the whole realm of theology. The spirit of this labor was desire for truth, and willingness to put aside old ideas if they were found untrue. In a word, this was a progressive theological movement. Its leaders, however, were all very earnest on the moral side of religion.[1] They sought for larger knowledge of Christian truth for the sake of truer Christian living. Some of them were among the first to have the vision of social Christianity, that is, to see that Christianity must rule the common life

A progressive theological movement

Practical emphasis

[1] The name "Broad Church" arose from the fact that these men wished the test of admission to the church to be, not orthodox belief, but right character.

of men in business and in work and in all their relations.

Leaders of the movement

Some of the leaders of this movement early in the century were F. D. Maurice, the theologian, Thomas Arnold, the great schoolmaster of Rugby, Frederick Robertson, the great preacher, and Charles Kingsley. One of the best examples of its spirit was Dean Stanley, who was so much honored both in England and in America.

Its results

The Liberal movement went on powerfully during the century in both the Church of England and the Free Churches. It has produced many works of scholarship and enlightened thought, and brought much vigor and intelligence into English religious life. It has spread confidence that Christianity has nothing to fear from the progress of knowledge and thought. In other English-speaking countries, particularly in Scotland and America, it has had much influence, quickening thought on all religious questions.

3. The Tractarian Movement

Conditions in which it arose

The Tractarian or Oxford movement was in some degree a revival of the ideas of the old "High-Church" party [1] of the Church of England. In other more important respects it was a new thing, produced by the political and religious conditions of the time. In England the fury and bloodshed of the French Revolution had caused many people to look with dread on all increase of the power of the people. A spirit of conservatism,

[1] See p. 116.

clinging to the past and fearful of political changes, was widespread. But in the years following 1830 the democratic movement made great advances in England. The greatest advance was the passage of the Reform Bill, which made the House of Commons much more truly representative of the people. This meant, of course, that the people had more power over the Church of England, since that was ruled by Parliament. About the same time other laws took away from the national church some of its privileges. Furthermore, the Liberal movement was causing men in the church to change some of their theological ideas, and to reject parts of the church's teaching. Some men in the Church of England felt that all these changes were very dangerous to the church, and therefore to Christianity in England and to English national life.

The Oxford leaders

So thought a group of remarkable young men at Oxford University. Foremost among them were John Keble, Fellow of Oriel College, and John Henry Newman, vicar of the University Church, who was exercising commanding power in Oxford by his personality and his wonderful preaching. Before long they were joined by an older man who brought them much strength, Edward Pusey, professor of Hebrew, one of the most influential men in Oxford. Deeply religious, and strong High-Churchmen, they feared for their church. It was in danger, they thought, from theological and political changes, especially from the latter. The

Their purpose

way to save it, they decided, was to spread abroad

right ideas about the nature of the church. Their belief was that if people were brought to realize that the church was a truly divine institution they would rouse themselves to defend it.

Tracts for the Times

Accordingly these Oxford men began in 1833 to issue the famous "Tracts for the Times," in which they set forth what they considered right ideas about the church. They emphasized the apostolic succession of bishops, and the church's God-given authority to teach the truth and rule men's lives. They asserted that its teaching was equal or superior in value to the Bible. They dwelt much on the sacraments, to which they ascribed an actual saving power. As an ideal for the Church of England, they held up the Church of the first five Christian centuries. Then, they said, the Christian Church was undivided, catholic, including all Christians. It taught truth and ruled life with authority. It had everywhere its bishops and its priests ordained by them. It rightly regarded the sacraments. While some of these historical ideas were fanciful, the Tractarians believed them enthusiastically. They called themselves Catholics, on the ground that they were in agreement with this early catholic Christianity. They refused the name Protestant, because it referred to a division in the Church.

Anglo-Catholics

The Tractarian movement and worship

Public worship was an exceedingly important part of religion to the Tractarians. They insisted on daily service in churches, and frequent celebration of the communion. They believed strongly in the religious value of symbolic actions in worship,

such as turning toward the altar, bending the knee, and burning incense, and of symbolic furniture and ornaments, such as lights on the altar, crosses and rich clerical vestments. They also believed that the worship of God ought to be made as beautiful as possible, by the use of all the faculties which God has given man, by music and architecture and painting.

Converts to Roman Catholicism

It was clear that the ideas of the Tractarians would take some of them into the Roman Church. Movement in this direction was hastened by the thunderbolt known as Tract No. 90, written by Newman in 1841. He asserted that the Thirty-nine Articles, the creed of the Church of England, were not necessarily Protestant. This amounted to a claim that a man might be practically a Roman Catholic and yet stay in the Church of England. Partly because of widespread condemnation of these views, a number of the more extreme Tractarians reached the conclusion that it was impossible to be "Catholics" and not Roman Catholics, and eventually went into the Roman Church. Of these the most prominent was Newman, who was later made a cardinal. During the years 1845-1851 some hundreds of Anglican clergymen, including many members of Oxford University, took the same course.

Tractarian influence in the English Church

The great majority of the Tractarians, however, stayed in the Church of England. From the middle of the nineteenth century their ideas were more and more adopted among the Anglican clergy and laity. Religion became more churchly and more

priestly. Many clergymen called themselves priests, and shaped their ministry accordingly, for example, hearing confessions from their people. The authority of the church as a teacher of the truth was exalted, scrupulous attention to its rites insisted on, and a high doctrine of the sacraments taught. Worship underwent great changes, becoming much more ritualistic and elaborate. Great attention was paid to the element of beauty in services and churches, and important improvements in church architecture, decoration and music resulted. Of late years the ritualistic tendency has gone so far that in some churches the service can hardly be told from that of the Roman Catholic Church.

At present there are great variety and liberty in the Church of England in the matter of worship, the manner of service ranging all the way from the extreme just mentioned to what is inspired by Low-Church Evangelicalism. There are the same variety and liberty in doctrinal belief.

Through its influence on worship, the Tractarian movement has undoubtedly caused some increase of formalism in popular religion. It has also kept wide open the gulf between the Church of England and the Free Churches; for Tractarian ideas forbid the recognition of the Free Churches as true churches, and Free-Church people condemn tendencies toward Roman Catholic doctrine and worship. On the other hand, the movement has caused a real revival of religion and of work for the people in large parts of the Church of England.

The Tractarian movement has had a widespread and for the most part a beneficial effect in English-speaking Protestantism. It has caused a truer appreciation of the value of common worship, and greater care for dignity and beauty in worship. American church life has profited much by this influence.

4. The Free Churches

One of the most striking things in English religious life since 1800 has been the growth of the Free Churches. They have increased in numbers until together they have as many members as the Church of England.[1] Their people have advanced greatly in intellectual culture, in wealth, and in general position and influence, and the churches have been greatly strengthened by these new resources. They have maintained a vigorous religious life, and displayed much aggressive activity, at home and in missions. In politics they have wielded considerable power. All in all, they have become very much more of a force than they were a hundred years ago.

B. SCOTLAND

1. Religious Awakening

The coldness and weakness which marked Scottish religious life in the eighteenth century were largely swept away by a revival in the early years

[1] Figures for 1905 and 1908, in Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. IX, p. 421.

of the nineteenth, due chiefly to the influence of the English revival. The experience of the great Thomas Chalmers illustrates this. His early ministry was formal and lifeless. His real interest was in his own studies, not in his people. But a spiritual revolution took place in him. His faith was greatly deepened and strengthened, and an enthusiastic consecration to Christ took possession of his life. He became a devoted pastor and a fervent preacher of the gospel. Such awakenings came to many Scottish ministers.

The new spirit showed itself in the general life of the Church of Scotland. New parishes were formed and churches built to care for the growing population of the towns, where many people had been living in heathenism because of the church's neglect. The church awoke to its missionary duty, and in 1829 sent to India Alexander Duff, a noble leader of the noble line of Scottish missionaries.

2. The Disruption

Revolt against lay patronage

The religious revival was in large part the cause of a revolt in the Church of Scotland against the system of "lay patronage."[1] A stronger spiritual life made many people in the churches impatient of a system which allowed a minister to be appointed for a church by a man who might not be a member of the church or even a religious man at all. Another cause of the revolt was the democratic movement, felt in Scotland as everywhere

[1] See p. 127.

else in Europe. The growing sense of the rights of the people inspired a widespread demand for the people's right to choose their own ministers.

The Church in conflict with the State

The revolt against lay patronage came to a head in 1834, in the passage by the General Assembly of the Veto Act, providing that if a majority of the male heads of families in a parish disapproved of the minister nominated by the patron, the presbytery must refuse to install him. The matter was taken into the civil courts, and the decision was against the Veto Act. Thus the law said in effect that the Church of Scotland was not free to choose its own ministers. To very many in the church this was an intolerable situation. Escape could be had only by leaving the Established Church.

The Disruption

So there came about the historic "Disruption" of 1843. More than a third of its ministers and thousands of its people left the Church of Scotland and formed the Free Church of Scotland. Among them were a majority of the most religious and zealous ministers and laymen of the country. For leaders they had the greatest men of the Established Church, the foremost being Chalmers. The church formed by them was Presbyterian, having the same creed and government as the church which they had left.

3. The Churches of Scotland After the Disruption

The Free Church of Scotland

On account of the splendid organizing work of Chalmers and the wonderful generosity of the peo-

ple, the Free Church had at its very start a full equipment. It had its congregations everywhere and its presbyteries. In four years over seven hundred churches were built. A theological college was opened in the first year. All the missionaries of the Church of Scotland, except one, joined the Free Church, which at once assumed their support. Through all its history the Free Church has had a noble record for the learning, ability and zeal of its ministry, its Christian service at home, its spirit of social righteousness, its missions, and its progressive religious thinking.

The Church of Scotland

To the Established Church the Disruption proved a stimulus. It soon rallied its forces and entered on a period of enlarged activity and growth. In 1874 lay patronage was abolished, and congregations allowed to choose their ministers. This gave the church added popular favor, and was one of the causes of its still further advance in numbers, influence and service of all kinds. Another important step toward freedom from state control was taken in 1905, when Parliament gave the church liberty to frame its own formula of subscription to the Confession of Faith.

The United Presbyterian Church

Soon after the Disruption another Presbyterian Church was formed in Scotland. In the eighteenth century two churches were formed by seceders from the Established Church.[1] In 1847 one of these and two churches which had been produced by disputes in the other came together to make the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

[1] See p. 127.

4. Movements of Union Among Scottish Presbyterians

At the end of the century there were three large Presbyterian churches in Scotland, Established, Free and United, besides three other very small churches. The desire for church union which of late years has been so strong among Christians everywhere was strong in Scotland. In 1901 it brought about the joining of the Free and United bodies into the United Free Church of Scotland.

The United Free Church

This left two large churches, both Presbyterian, differing only in that one was established, though not really under state control, and the other free. It was inevitable that they should get a vision of what could be done by one great national church, and seek to realize it. In 1914 negotiations for the union of these two are going forward.

IV. MISSIONS IN EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY

It would take a volume to give a mere outline of the history of Christian missions in this period, during which Christianity has expanded far more widely and rapidly than in any other time of its history. For the facts of its growth among non-Christian peoples the books on modern missions must be consulted. Here only a few things will be said concerning the home base in European Christianity.

England

The modern missionary movement took its rise, we have seen, in England in the late eighteenth

century.[1] In the country of its birth it has grown steadily stronger. The Church of England has two great societies, the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the former on the whole representing Low-Church Anglicans and the latter High-Church. All the Free Churches have strong missionary agencies. Many undenominational English societies are carrying on missions and circulating the Bible and Christian literature.

Scotland

The missionary movement came to Scotland early in the nineteenth century, as a part of its general religious awakening,[2] and from that time has continuously gained power. No Christian missions have been more generously supported or more devotedly and wisely carried on than the Scottish.

Germany

Protestant Germany early felt the contagion of the English missionary revival. In 1822 the Basel Society was formed, and by the middle of the century six other organizations supporting missionaries were at work, most of them being undenominational.

Holland

From Holland the Netherlands Society for Propagating Christianity began to send missionaries in 1817, and several other societies have since been formed in that country.

France

The French Protestants took up missionary work in 1824, and

Switzerland

before 1850 societies were organized in Switzerland and in the three Scandinavian countries.

Scandinavia

Thus by the middle of the nineteenth century con-

[1] See p. 124.
[2] See p. 149.

tinental Protestantism generally was awakened to missionary purpose, and was maintaining a work which has grown ever since.

The great modern missionary enthusiasm has not been confined to Protestantism. The Roman Catholic Church, which had a strong force of workers in the field while Protestantism was yet unawakened, has been stirred to greater efforts. Like the Protestant churches, it has grasped the opportunities offered by the opening of the world to intercourse, and its missions have been much enlarged.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What caused a revival of the Roman Catholic Church early in the century?

2. How has the power of the papacy been increased during the century?

3. What has been the papacy's attitude toward progress and liberty during the century?

4. What has been its attitude toward national authority?

5. Describe the union of German Protestants in 1817. What is the present government of the Protestant state church in Prussia?

6. What action in church matters was taken by France in 1905? How strong is Protestantism in France?

7. Describe the religious opinions and religious life of the English Evangelicals. What has been the effect of this movement?

8. Describe the Liberal movement in England.

9. What was the origin of the Tractarian movement?

10. What were the teachings of "Tracts for the Times"? What were the ideas of the Tractarians about public worship?

11. What was the relation between the Tractarian movement and Roman Catholicism?

12. What has been the influence of the Tractarian movement, in England and elsewhere?

13. Describe the progress of the Free Churches of England during the century.

14. What caused the Disruption of the Church of Scotland?

15. Describe the Disruption, and the history of the Free Church of Scotland.

16. Describe recent movements of union among Scottish Presbyterians.

17. Describe the missionary awakening in England and Scotland. How far did the awakening spread on the Continent?

READING

Schwill: "Political History of Modern Europe," pp. 383-437, on the Napoleonic wars and the reaction following; ch. XXI, on Italian history; ch. XXIII, on English history.

Hazen: "Europe Since 1815," on all matters of the general history of the century; especially chs. I-V, on the period of reaction; chs. VII, X, XVI, on Italian history; ch. XV, on France and the Roman Catholic Church; chs. XVIII, XIX, on the democratic advance in England.

Sheldon: "History of the Christian Church," Vol. V, ch. I, on Protestantism on the Continent; ch. II, on the Roman Catholic Church; ch. III, on English and Scottish religious history.

Nippold: "The Papacy in the Nineteenth Century."

Alzog: "Universal Church History," Vol. III, for a Roman Catholic account of the religious history of the century (see Contents).

Cornish: "History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century," on all matters of English religious history (see Contents).

Church: "The Oxford Movement."

Hutton: "Cardinal Newman."

Lord Balfour of Burleigh: "Presbyterianism in Scotland," chs. VIII, IX.

Fleming: "The Burning Bush," chs. XVI-XX, on Scottish Presbyterianism.
Oliphant: "Thomas Chalmers."
Warneck: "History of Protestant Missions," Part I, chs. IV, V.

CHAPTER XVII

AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

I. THE EARLIEST ENTERPRISES

A. PROTESTANT

Christianity was first planted in the present territory of the United States by Huguenots. In 1562 a band of them settled at Port Royal, South Carolina. Others settled near St. Augustine, Florida, in 1564-5. The former settlement was early abandoned; the people of the latter were soon massacred by Spaniards from St. Augustine.

B. ROMAN CATHOLIC

1. Spanish Missions

St. Augustine, the oldest town in the United States, was founded by the Spaniards in 1565. From it as a center an extensive religious work was carried on for many years among Spanish settlers and the Indians. But soon after Florida became an English possession (1763), this Christianity almost totally disappeared.

Far to the west, also, Spanish Christianity early got a foothold. In 1598 Spaniards from Mexico established a colony in New Mexico, which, like all their settlements, was a missionary station. The Indians of this region received a rapid but very shallow Christianization. After a great Indian re-

bellion in 1680 the Spaniards reëstablished mission stations, most of which are still Roman Catholic centers. Such was the origin of the old Christianity of the Spanish population and the Indians of this southwestern country.

The California Franciscan missions among the Indians were of later date. The first, at San Diego, was founded in 1769, and twenty others followed in quick succession. For a while they prospered greatly. The Indians were gathered into communities, where they were instructed in Christianity and in agriculture and industries, and kept under strict discipline. But when the Mexican Government, which then ruled California, released them from the control of the friars (1834), most of the Indians soon went back into paganism.

2. French Missions

From the foundation of Quebec in 1608 the French pushed their settlement of Canada enthusiastically and rapidly. Religious work was a prominent feature of their policy. Quebec and Montreal became strong religious centers, containing institutions richly endowed and served by the best men and women the French Church could provide. La Salle's explorations of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi (1678-1682) showed to the French the possibility of a great empire. This they strove to make their own by planting a line of posts, military, commercial and religious, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi. Many missionaries, mostly Jesuits, carried

on far-reaching, heroic labors on both sides of this line. They worked all along the Great Lakes, in northern New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and down the Mississippi to Louisiana. But the grand designs of the French were all spoiled in 1763 when England got possession of Canada.

Thus two great plans of empire, either of which would have made Roman Catholicism supreme in North America, came to nothing. The religious foundations of the United States were to be laid by Protestants.

II. THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

A. FROM THE FOUNDATIONS TO THE GREAT AWAKENING

(A. D. 1607-1734)

1. New England

Plymouth Colony

The first settlement in New England, the second in the thirteen colonies, was made for purely religious reasons. About 1600 a number of devout English people in Lincolnshire became greatly dissatisfied with the Church of England. Like the Puritans, they objected strongly to the fact that in its worship and government there remained certain features of the medieval church. But unlike the Puritans,[1] they held that the Church of England could never be reformed so as to be a true Church of Christ, and that they must leave it

[1] See p. 71.

and establish a new church. They organized themselves into a church, meeting for worship in two places, at Scrooby Manor and Gainsborough. Being persecuted for this, they fled in 1608 to Holland. After a few years they decided to go to America. For this purpose they struck a bargain with the London Company, one of two corporations to which James I had given Virginia, a great tract on the Atlantic Coast.

On December 21, 1620, about a hundred of these "Pilgrims" landed from the "Mayflower" on the shore of Cape Cod Bay. This was the foundation of Plymouth Colony. The colonists had no need to organize a church, for they already were one, and their church life went on without interruption. Their minister had stayed behind, but they had a strong religious leader in their elder, William Brewster. Their first year was one of terrible suffering, but the colony soon began a solid growth, under the wise leadership of Governor Bradford.

Massachusetts Bay Colony

From their first appearance, the Puritans hoped and worked to bring about the changes which they desired in the Church of England.[1] But under the rule of Archbishop Laud, beginning about 1625, they found themselves bitterly persecuted for worshiping and teaching as they thought right. After fifty years and more, what they desired seemed further off than ever. In many the hope of reforming the church grew dim. Knowing of the settlements in Virginia and at Plymouth, they thought of America as a place where they would

[1] On the Puritans, see pp. 70-73.

have religious freedom. The first permanent settlement was made in 1628 at Salem, Massachusetts, and by 1640 twenty thousand Puritan colonists were living there and at Charlestown, Boston, Dorchester and Watertown.

The Plymouth Colony was made up chiefly of obscure, poor and uneducated people. But among these Puritans of Massachusetts Bay Colony were many men of comfortable means, good position and advanced education. The colony was a body of people exceptional for moral character, intelligence and energy.

Connecticut and New Haven colonies

Within a few years two other Puritan colonies came into being. One, called Connecticut, was begun at and near Hartford (1634-6) by emigrants from Massachusetts. The other, New Haven, was founded (1638) by a company which came directly from England.

Religion in these colonies

All four of these colonies, since their people agreed in religious opinions, developed the same kind of religious life. Though there were many Presbyterians among the colonists, the churches which they formed were almost all Congregational; but in Connecticut there was a considerable element of Presbyterianism in the relations between the churches. Worship in the churches was without liturgy and severely plain, the sermon being its great feature. The ministers were of high character and good education, and were the most influential persons in their communities. The churches exercised a rigid discipline over the conduct of their members. Religion was the dominant

force in life in early New England. It was Puritan religion—strongly Biblical, thoughtful, zealous, severe, and constantly brought to bear on the life of the individual and the community. The provision very early made for common schools and a college (Harvard was founded in 1636) insured that it should continue to be an intelligent religion, and that the whole life of these colonies should be alert and progressive. No greater good has ever come to American religious life and to the whole life of our country than the molding of these influential New England colonies by Puritan faith and courage and conscience.

The Puritans and religious liberty

The Puritans did not intend to establish general religious liberty. They came to America to get liberty for what they thought the right kind of religion. To this kind they intended that everyone in their colonies should conform. The Congregational churches were really established. Taxes were levied for the support of their ministers. In Massachusetts and New Haven only members of the churches had the right to vote. Religious meetings other than those held in the churches, and religious teaching differing from that given in them, were not allowed. In Massachusetts, Baptists and Quakers were persecuted, especially the latter, four of them being put to death in 1659-1661. Toward the end of the seventeenth century a better spirit began to prevail, and persecution ceased.

Foundation of Rhode Island

The intolerance of the Massachusetts Puritans caused the foundation of Rhode Island. Roger

Williams, a minister, high-minded and able though erratic, was banished from Massachusetts in 1635, for objectionable political and religious utterances. He and a few companions settled at Providence. Becoming convinced that Baptist teachings were true, he organized there the first Baptist church of the New World, in 1639. Other exiles from persecution in Massachusetts found homes in other places about Narragansett Bay. Out of these settlements was formed the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Here absolute religious liberty prevailed from the first. The strongest religious body was the Baptist.

2. The Middle Colonies

New York

The colony of New Netherlands, later New York, was a purely commercial enterprise of the Dutch West India Company. The first settlers, being not of the best sort of Dutch people, did not have much of the religious earnestness characteristic of the Dutch. Nor did the Reformed Church of Holland do much for the spiritual welfare of the colony. A Reformed church was organized on Manhattan Island in 1628, fifteen years after the first settlement was made. But not until 1633 was there a permanent minister of the gospel. Then a wooden church was built, and in 1642 a stone structure. From these beginnings has come the great Reformed (Dutch) Church of this country. But it was long before its life became vigorous. In 1660, when there were ten thousand people in the

The Dutch Church

New Netherlands, there were but six Reformed ministers.

Many peoples and forms of religion

Even at this early time, New York, New Amsterdam as it was then called, was cosmopolitan. Besides the Dutch there were in the city people of many nations, who had their different religious organizations; for a considerable degree of religious liberty was allowed by the Dutch government. There were Huguenots, New England Puritans, Scotch Presbyterians, Swedish and German Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Jews.

The Church of England

The colony became an English possession in 1664. Although the English Government did not interfere with the Dutch Church, it of course introduced and favored the Church of England. This was the beginning of the strength of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York City. The Church of England, however, did not display much activity at this time. Hence in the early eighteenth century religious life in New York was feeble.

New Jersey

New Jersey had in its early population several different religious elements. Some Dutch people had settled there before it became an English possession (1664). After that a good many New Englanders came into East Jersey, most of whom held Presbyterian rather than Congregational views. A number of Scottish Presbyterians, leaving their country during the "Killing Times,"[1] found homes in the same region. The first inhabitants of West Jersey, living chiefly between Camden and

[1] See p. 126.

Trenton, were English Quakers.[1] Persecuted at home, they came hither because several wealthy Quakers, among whom was William Penn, had acquired the land and offered to their brethren a refuge (1676).

Pennsylvania

Penn, a leader of the Quakers, in 1681 received from Charles II of England an enormous tract of land in America. Upon it he founded a colony, as a safe home for the members of his religious fellowship, and also as a commercial enterprise. His "Frame of Government" assured entire civil and religious liberty, and he offered land very cheap. Within a few years thousands of English and Welsh Quakers, people of high character and deep piety, the best sort of colonists, came to Pennsylvania. In 1700 it had a population of twenty thousand, and Philadelphia, laid out in 1682, was a flourishing town.

The Germans of Pennsylvania

The religious freedom of Penn's colony drew other persecuted peoples besides the Quakers. Many members of several German sects who were suffering for their religious beliefs, the largest being the Mennonites[2] and Dunkards, came early in the eighteenth century. A still larger number, amounting to many thousands, came about 1710 from the Rhine Palatinate. This country had been ravaged by the French, and its peasants reduced to abject misery, because Huguenots had found

[1] On the Quakers, see p. 112. During the reign of Charles II (1660-1685), thirteen thousand Quakers were imprisoned and three hundred and thirty-eight died in prison or of wounds received in assaults in their meetings.

[2] See p. 76.

shelter there. These people from the Palatinate were the original members of the German Reformed Church. After them many German immigrants came to Pennsylvania, not fleeing from persecution, but seeking to better their condition.

Maryland

The territory of Maryland was granted by Charles I in 1634 to George Calvert, Lord Baltimore. For many years the colony was managed by him and his descendants as a business. The Calverts were Roman Catholics, but in order to attract settlers to their colony they made religious liberty a part of their policy from the beginning. Two Jesuits came with the first colonists, the first Roman Catholic priests to settle in the thirteen colonies. The great majority of these colonists, however, were Protestant Englishmen. Later came Presbyterian Puritans driven out of Virginia, Quakers, and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, the advance guard of the great immigration of this people. Some of the churches of the first presbytery, that of Philadelphia, formed in 1706, were in Maryland.

When Maryland became a royal colony (1691), the Church of England was established. Taxes were levied for its support, and dissenters from it deprived of some civil rights. Its clergy were very inferior, and it amounted to little or nothing as a religious force.

3. The South

Virginia

The first settlers of Virginia and of the thirteen colonies (1607), though not a very respectable

company, had among them a Christian minister, worthy of his calling. This man, Robert Hunt, a clergyman of the Church of England, conducted services until his early death. Thus at the beginning the Church of England was set up in Virginia, and it remained the church of the colony. In the first years, however, it was the Puritan element of the English Church which had most influence in the management of Virginia. But in 1631 a governor was appointed who hated Puritanism and persecuted the Puritans, driving out many of them. Moreover the people generally were very different from the Puritans in character, especially when the great Cavalier immigration had taken place. After the execution of Charles I thousands of the Englishmen who had taken his side against the Puritans came to Virginia.

The Anglican Church in Virginia

Strict conformity to the Church of England was required in the colony. The church was established and supported by taxes. But it had little religious life, because the clergymen sent to it from England were men of small ability and poor character. Hence clergy and church had slight influence with the people. By the early eighteenth century religious conditions had become very unfavorable.

The Carolinas

In both the Carolinas, which were settled in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Church of England was established. But in North Carolina it never became at all strong, and in South Carolina it included only a small part of the people. In both colonies Quaker evangelists, among

them the famous George Fox,[1] did very successful work late in that century. Both later received bodies of people who brought with them earnest religious life — Huguenots, Swiss, Germans and Scotch-Irish in North Carolina; Huguenots, Scotch, and English dissenters in South Carolina.

Georgia

None of the colonies had a more distinctly Christian origin than Georgia, founded in 1733. General Oglethorpe, a young English philanthropist, planned the colony as a refuge for sufferers under the brutal penal laws of England, and for all victims of injustice and persecution. The first people to come were prisoners whom he brought over, and a band of Lutherans exiled from the archbishopric of Salzburg.

B. FROM THE GREAT AWAKENING TO THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (A. D. 1734-1775)

Religious depression in the early eighteenth century

The early eighteenth century was a time of religious and moral weakness in the colonies. In New England this condition was so evident that there was much lamentation over it. The strong conviction and zeal of the first generation of Puritans did not appear in their descendants, who had not had the inspiring experience of coming to the new country for religious freedom. The churches required for admission to membership a testimony of religious experience which few could make. Therefore only a minority of the people were church members. The current preaching, more-

[1] See p. 112.

over, insisting on man's inability to turn to God, was depressing. We have seen the state of things in New York. In Pennsylvania, Quakerism, the dominant form of religion, had lost much of its enthusiasm and evangelistic ardor, perhaps because of great material prosperity. In Maryland and Virginia the established Anglican Church was practically lifeless.

The Great Awakening

In this time of need came the "Great Awakening." Jonathan Edwards, a young man of extraordinary intellectual and spiritual gifts, was pastor at Northampton, the chief town of Massachusetts outside of Boston. In 1734 he began to preach with great power, calling for immediate repentance and faith. Northampton was profoundly stirred, and the revival spread to neighboring towns in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Even before this there was a similar though much less important movement in New Jersey. Gilbert Tennent, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick, in 1728 began to preach in a way that brought vital religion into his own church and others near by.[1] In 1739 there was a revival among the Puritan and Scotch Presbyterians of Newark. In Virginia a powerful awakening began spontaneously, without preaching, because of the reading of religious books. It was furthered by the work of Presbyterian and Baptist evangelists. While new religious life was thus appearing in many places in the colonies, the great George Whitefield came to add power to the movement. In 1739-1741 and

Whitefield in America

[1] See p. 102.

1744-1748 he preached all along the coast from Georgia to Maine, everywhere drawing enormous crowds and making a profound impression. His tours were followed by widespread evangelistic work in New England on the part of Edwards and other leading ministers.

Results of the awakening

Thus a powerful revival stirred almost the whole population of the colonies. Church membership was greatly increased, and many new churches were formed. The Congregational, Presbyterian and Baptist bodies were all much enlarged. Missionary interest in the Indians was aroused. David Brainerd's short but greatly influential work for them was a direct product of the revival. The Awakening enabled the American churches to endure a coming time of trial. For forty years from the beginning of the French and Indian War in 1745, the people of the colonies were intensely absorbed in war, political agitation, and war again. Religion suffered greatly, and would have suffered much more but for the preparation which the revival gave.

The Scotch-Irish

While the Awakening was going on, there were coming into the colonies many thousands of a people who were to have a great influence in American history, religious and otherwise, the Scotch-Irish.[1] Their great immigration took place between 1713 and 1750, and again in 1771-1773. Most of them came to the middle colonies, and sought the "back country." Many settled in Pennsylvania, and many others moved southward

[1] See p. 128.

along the Appalachian Mountains into western Virginia and Carolina. These people were all Presbyterians, firmly attached to their church. They had a zealous piety, and great vigor and independence of character.

Religious condition of the Pennsylvania Germans

The Germans of Pennsylvania were not touched by the Awakening, on account of the barrier of language. In 1741 Count Zinzendorf [1] visited the Moravians in that colony, organized them into congregations, and encouraged them to missionary work among both the whites and the Indians. Seeing there thousands of Germans of various sects without religious care, he sought to bring them into a kind of religious union. This project stirred sectarian zeal in the old country. The Lutherans of Germany sent Henry Muhlenberg, who organized the Lutherans of Pennsylvania into churches and synods. The Reformed Church of Holland sent Michael Schlatter, who did similar work for the German Reformed people in that colony.

Lutherans

German Reformed

Methodism in America

The Methodist movement touched America in 1766. In that year Philip Embury, who had been a Methodist local preacher in Ireland, began to preach in New York City. From this time the Methodist societies multiplied and grew rapidly. In 1771 Francis Asbury was appointed by Wesley to direct American Methodism. His strong leadership and the untiring zeal of his preachers caused the Methodist Church to grow very fast, even during political excitement and war. Its chief strength in these early days was in the southern colonies.

[1] See p. 102.

Religion and the War of Independence

It is commonly said that the war for the independence of the colonies was brought on by a dispute over taxation. But religious feeling did much to cause desire for freedom from British rule. The Congregationalists and Presbyterians, together making the majority of the people, feared that the British Government would soon establish the Church of England in all the colonies—it was already established in some—and require all their inhabitants to obey its authority. Since their fathers had come to America to escape this, they had no mind to submit to it. This produced desire for independence, quite as much as did indignation over the Stamp Act and other measures of taxation.

III. THE UNITED STATES

A. RECONSTRUCTION AND REVIVAL AFTER THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Religious life weak after the war

All the churches suffered greatly during the war. Many of their men died in it, and many others suffered morally in army life. In some cases congregations were scattered, ministers driven away, and church buildings destroyed. Since the Congregational and Presbyterian bodies stood solidly for independence, their ministers and churches were special objects of British attack. Religious life generally was much weakened, as it almost always is by war. The anti-religious spirit of the French Revolution had considerable influence, especially because of the help given by France to the Americans in the war. Unbelief and religious indiffer-

ence became widespread. During the two decades after the war, American Christianity had less vitality than at any time of its history.

Reorganization of churches

Nevertheless the birth of the new nation demanded of the churches reorganization. The Anglican Church of the colonies severed its connection with the Church of England and took the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church. American Methodism also became independent, and at the same time got its first superintendents or bishops, Thomas Coke and Asbury. The Presbyterian Synod formed itself into the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The Congregationalists of New England formed state associations. The Roman Catholic Church, then numbering only eighteen thousand members, was put under an American "prefect apostolic," who soon became a bishop.

Religion and the Constitution

One of the greatest benefits ever received by American Christianity was an action taken in the formation of the government of the United States respecting the religious policy of the government. The first amendment to the Constitution (1791) provided that there should be no established form of religion. The principle of the new nation was to be "a free church in a free state."

Many revivals

The grave religious weakness already noted was totally removed by a series of revivals which covered a large part of the country at the close of the eighteenth century and the opening of the nineteenth. In many places the new life sprang forth and spread. There were no leaders as prominent

as those of the Great Awakening. The preaching was mostly done, in the older parts of the country, by resident pastors. The movement was lasting, revivals being practically continuous for a generation in some regions. It was strongest in New England, in central and western New York and Ohio, then being settled by New Englanders, and in Kentucky and Tennessee. Few parts of the country escaped its influence.

The revivals greatly and enduringly strengthened the religious life of the nation. They opened a long period of vigor and aggressive activity. The new strength which they brought was needed, for the American churches had great tasks before them in the coming growth of the nation.

B. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, TO THE REVIVAL OF 1857

Results of the revivals; (1) church membership increased

Certain definite results of these revivals meet our attention at the opening of the century. Church membership very greatly increased. In 1830 the Methodists were more than seven times as many as they were in 1800, the Presbyterians more than four times, the Baptists more than three times, and the Congregationalists twice as many, despite great losses through the Unitarian movement.

(2) New religious bodies

Several new religious bodies were produced. That which took the name "Disciples" was formed of people who had been affected by the revivals in western Pennsylvania and Kentucky. They disapproved of the existing churches because they had

"human creeds," and declared for a union of all Christians on the basis of the Bible only. Their name represents their protest against denominationalism. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church was formed by the secession from the Presbyterian Church of ministers and people living in Kentucky, on account of conditions produced by the revival.[1]

The Unitarians

The rise of the Unitarian body was in one sense a result of the revivals, for they brought to sharp issue certain theological differences which had long existed in eastern Massachusetts. Some Congregationalist ministers and people rejected the extreme teaching regarding the sinfulness of human nature commonly heard from the New England pulpits, and also denied the deity of Christ. Early in the century the lines were drawn between Unitarians and Trinitarians. A number of churches in and near Boston became Unitarian.

(3) Home missions

A great home missionary advance followed from the revivals. The churches sent many preachers to the new western settlements, the Congregationalists and Presbyterians working chiefly in the northern parts and the Baptists and Methodists in the southern. The Congregational Association of Connecticut in 1798 made itself a missionary society, the first in the United States. In 1800 the first women's missionary organization was formed, the "Boston Female Society for Missionary Purposes." These and other organizations made about the same time confined their interest to home missions.

[1] For a fuller account see Ch. XVIII.

(4) Foreign missions

The great missionary awakening in England[1] soon won response from the newly revived Christianity of America. Samuel Mills of Connecticut has the imperishable fame of being the pioneer of American Christianity in the field of world-wide missions. He was the leader of the group of five students of Williams College who at the famous Haystack Prayer Meeting considered the sending of the gospel to Asia. He was the leader also of the Brethren, a society of volunteers for missions to the heathen formed at Williams in 1808. The Brethren all went to Andover Theological Seminary, where Adoniram Judson joined them. Their application to the Congregational Association of Massachusetts for support and direction in their missionary purpose led to the formation in 1810 of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This was at first composed of New England Congregationalists, but in 1812 it chose several Presbyterian members, and for many years it was the foreign missionary organization of both of these bodies.

The American Board

In 1812 the American Board sent five missionaries to India. During the voyage Judson and Luther Rice adopted Baptist views, and these two separated from the others, Judson going to Burma to do his great work there, and Rice returning to America to give to the Baptists the vision of missions. His activity resulted in the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1814. The other great American churches soon enlisted, the Epis-

[1] See p. 124.

copalians forming a society in 1819 and the Methodists in 1832.

(5) Theological seminaries

Still another result of the revivals was the demand for a better training for the ministry, and the establishment of theological seminaries to meet this demand. Andover was founded in 1808, and during the next eighteen years fifteen other seminaries, representing eight denominations, were opened.

The churches and slavery

Two great national evils confronted the American churches in the early years of the century. One was slavery. Until about 1833 the churches of both North and South in general regarded this as an evil which ought as speedily as possible to be abolished. About that time, largely because of the immense increase in the value of slaves caused by the enlargement of cotton-growing, the South became committed to retaining slavery. The Southern churches either kept silence or defended slavery as divinely sanctioned. Even in the North something of the same weakening of Christian conscience occurred. But on the whole the churches there held their earlier position. The difference on this question caused the Baptists and Methodists to divide, north and south, in 1844 and 1845. The Fugitive Slave Law (1850) and the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) roused the Christian people of the North to new and stronger opposition to slavery. The leadership of the churches had much to do with making the North determined to abolish it.

The churches and intemperance

The other great evil was intemperance, which was frightfully prevalent at the opening of the

century. All ranks of society, even the clergy, were infected. Early in the century there was a great awakening of Christian conscience on this subject. Within a few years a wonderful improvement was wrought in social customs, which hitherto had practically enforced drinking. Since that time the American churches have stood definitely for temperance.

Protestant Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches

Two churches hitherto weak gained much strength in this period. The Protestant Episcopal Church from about 1835 rose steadily to a position as one of the strong religious bodies of the country, in spite of sharp controversy between High-Churchmen and Low-Churchmen. The Roman Catholic Church profited greatly by the flood of immigration which began about 1840. Between that year and 1870 the immigrants numbered five and a half millions. This church increased from half a million members in 1830 to four and a half million in 1870.

The winning of the West

The years 1840 to 1860 were a time of rapid settlement in the West, largely of people from the East. The Protestant churches followed this great movement of population with a vast home mission work. The West was planted with churches, Sunday schools and Christian colleges. The laying of solid Christian foundations in this enormous territory in a few years is one of the great achievements of Christian history. A leader in this wonderful enterprise of Christianizing the West was Lyman Beecher, one of the greatest men of American Christianity in the early nineteenth century,

and, in fact, in its whole history. He was foremost in the battles against intemperance and slavery. He caught the vision of the work in the West, and in order to have a part in it went in 1832 from his New England pastorate to be president of the new Lane Seminary, in Cincinnati. It was he who said, "To plant Christianity in the West is as grand an undertaking as it was to plant it in the Roman Empire, with unspeakably greater permanence and power."

C. FROM THE REVIVAL OF 1857 TO THE CIVIL WAR

The years from 1845 to 1857 were a time of great national growth, Texas and what is now the territory of the Southwestern and Pacific states being added to the republic. Partly because of this, these were also years of great commercial activity and increase in wealth. The people became intensely absorbed in business. They were occupied, too, with the growing political agitation over the slavery question. Thus attention was somewhat turned away from religion. During these years there were none of the revivals which had been so frequent earlier in the century.

The revival of 1857

In 1857 there came a severe depression in business, and general hard times. Very soon a powerful revival of religious life appeared in many places. There was no concerted effort, or work by notable evangelists. The revivals began in most places with meetings of Christian laymen, held on their own motion. The movement was plainly a

work of the Holy Spirit. This awakening, covering the years 1857-8, added to the churches about a million members. It roused Christian laymen to a great increase of religious activity—a result which appeared more largely after the Civil War than immediately. It prepared the churches to meet the terrible trials which they and their people were called to bear in the great conflict which soon convulsed the nation.

D. FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE PRESENT TIME

Religious advance after the Civil War

Soon after the Civil War, national life moved forward with fresh energy to new tasks. In this new activity the churches largely shared. The urgent needs of the emancipated colored people of the South aroused Christian generosity and labor on the part of churches and undenominational societies and institutions. A great new tide of immigration and a new movement from the East caused population in the West to grow rapidly again. The need for home mission work was greater than ever; and the churches rose to meet it. At the same time their foreign missionary work greatly expanded. The larger service of laymen inspired by the revival of 1857 now showed itself in many ways. Sunday-school work was much increased and its methods were much improved. The Young Men's Christian Association made wonderful advances. Many women's societies for furthering religious and moral progress were formed, some being in connection with the churches and some undenominational, such as the Young Women's

Christian Association and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The aggressive activity of the laity, both men and women, became, as it has continued, one of the striking features of American religious life.

We are too near to more recent events to view them in their true proportions or trace accurately the connection of cause and effect. We can certainly see that the religious life of our country shows no flagging of energy. The American churches are maintaining home mission work on its old ground in the West with undiminished vigor. They are taking hold of the great task presented to them by our immigrant population. They are working ever more largely and wisely among the people crowded into our great cities. Their foreign missionary work is supported with enthusiasm and generosity far surpassing anything before known. The religious education of children and young people is making a stronger appeal than ever to them. They are awaking to their duty to make righteousness rule in our industrial and commercial life. They are more and more realizing their oneness in Christ, and expressing it in movements of coöperation and union, the most important of which has been the formation in 1908 of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Christian unity is growing up amid our divisions. Many are the signs of promise for the kingdom of God in America.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Describe early Roman Catholic missions in America.

2. Describe the foundations of Plymouth Colony and Massachusetts Bay Colony.

3. Describe the religious life of early New England.

4. What was the attitude of the Puritans as to religious liberty? How was this connected with the foundation of Rhode Island and the origin of the Baptists of America?

5. What was the religious condition of New York in the seventeenth century?

6. What was the character of the government of Pennsylvania? Who were the original Pennsylvania Germans?

7. Describe religious conditions in Virginia in the seventeenth century.

8. In what colonies was the Church of England established, and what did it amount to as a religious force?

9. What was the state of religion in the colonies in the early eighteenth century? What were the causes of this condition?

10. Describe the Great Awakening and its results.

11. When did the Scotch-Irish immigration take place? Where did these people settle? Describe their character and religious connection.

12. Describe the rise of the Lutheran and German Reformed churches.

13. Describe Methodism in the colonies.

14. In what way was religious feeling a cause of the War of Independence?

15. Describe the new religious organizations formed at the birth of the nation.

16. What was provided by the Constitution as to religion?

17. Describe the state of religion after the War of Independence, and the revivals that changed conditions.

18. What new religious bodies resulted from the revivals?

19. What were the results of the revivals in home missions, foreign missions and theological education?

20. What was the attitude of American Christianity toward slavery?

21. Describe the home missionary work of 1840-60.
22. Describe the revival of 1857 and its results.
23. Describe the advance of the American churches after the Civil War.

READING

Bacon: "American Christianity."

The denominational histories in the American Church History Series, especially these volumes:

Walker: "The Congregationalists"; contains a full account of the religious history of New England.

R. E. Thompson: "The Presbyterians."

Newman: "The Baptists."

Buckley: "The Methodists."

Tiffany: "The Protestant Episcopal Church."

O'Gorman: "The Roman Catholics."

Bassett: "Short History of the United States," especially the chapters dealing with social development.

Elson: "History of the United States."

(These two are good one-volume general histories.)

Fiske: "The Beginnings of New England."

Fiske: "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors," on the colonial history of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas.

Fiske: "The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America," on the colonial history of New York and Pennsylvania.

(These three contain much matter relative to religious history: see the full Tables of Contents.)

CHAPTER XVIII

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM

I. THE SOURCES IN EUROPE

In Chapter XII we saw the rise of that great wing of Protestantism which is composed of the "Reformed" churches. All of this family of churches had the kind of government called Presbyterian. The principle of this is the government of the church by representative councils composed of ministers and of elders chosen by the people from among themselves. A single congregation is Presbyterian if it is governed by a session, consisting of the minister and the elders. In a church of many congregations, Presbyterian government is carried on by a series of these councils or courts composed of ministers and elders, rising one above another in authority. In the larger Presbyterian churches of America, this series consists of session, presbytery, synod and General Assembly. The series of councils is not found in just this number and with these names in all churches having Presbyterian government; but all of them are organized according to this general pattern. In all Presbyterian churches all ministers are equal in rank, and a large share in government belongs to the people, through their chosen elders.

Presbyterian government

The national Protestant churches which were

The Reformed Churches

formed in the sixteenth century in France,[1] Scotland,[2] Holland[3] and certain German states[4] were of the Presbyterian type. Many of the English Puritans believed in this kind of church government. When the Puritans got power to shape the constitution of the Church of England, they made it Presbyterian.[5] In Hungary there was a Calvinistic church with Presbyterian government.[6] In the little cantons of Switzerland there was not the opportunity to work out full Presbyterian systems that was given in churches covering large countries, but the germ of the Presbyterian form existed in Swiss Protestantism. From a Swiss center, Geneva, there went forth the ideas which ruled in the formation of all these Reformed churches. Calvin's ideas of church government were more fully put into practice in other countries, for example in France, than in his own Geneva.

Calvinism in theology and church government

In these countries Calvin's influence prevailed in doctrinal thought as well as in church government, so that all these churches of Presbyterian government were Calvinistic in theology. But some men who favored Calvinistic doctrine did not favor Presbyterian government. The Puritans, for example, were Calvinists in theology, but some of them preferred Congregational government, and organized Congregational churches in England and New England. Therefore Presbyterianism and

[1] See p. 56.
[2] See p. 62.
[3] See p. 59.
[4] See p. 63.
[5] See p. 111.
[6] See p. 63.

Calvinism are not words that cover the same ground. The thing that distinguishes Presbyterian churches from others is their form of government.

American colonists of Presbyterian origin

Now if we look back over the history of American Christianity, we shall see that from the European homes of Presbyterianism came many of the early settlers of this country. There were English Puritans,[1] people from Scotland[2] and the Scottish North of Ireland,[3] French Huguenots,[4] Dutch Protestants,[5] German Protestants of the Reformed wing,[6] and Swiss Protestants.[7] Therefore we find Presbyterianism strong in American church life, both at the beginning and all through its history. The Dutch and German populations were early organized into the churches often called the Dutch Reformed[8] and German Reformed.[9] Most of these other colonists of Presbyterian origin formed churches called Presbyterian. Two of these elements of population have played much the largest part in American Presbyterian history. They are the Puritan and the Scottish, the latter including as a very important part the Scotch-Irish.

II. THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN AMERICA

A. PURITAN PRESBYTERIANISM

New England

Almost all of the New England churches of Puritan ancestry are now Congregational, but among

[1] See pp. 159-163, 164, 166, 167.
[2] See pp. 164, 168.
[3] See pp. 166, 170, 171.
[4] See pp. 164, 168.
[5] See pp. 163, 164.
[6] See p. 166.
[7] See p. 168.
[8] See p. 163.
[9] See p. 171.

the early Puritan settlers many of both ministers and laymen favored Presbyterian government. One of these was John Eliot, the noble missionary to the Indians. Several of the first churches were more Presbyterian than Congregational in their organization. In Massachusetts, however, government in almost all the churches soon became Congregational. They were ruled directly by the people, not by sessions, and in their relations to one another were independent, with no general government. But in Connecticut the Presbyterian element proved the stronger. There the Puritan churches were organized in 1708 into "consociations," which were really presbyteries. These Connecticut churches often called themselves Presbyterian.

New York

The first Presbyterianism in New York came from New England. Long Island was settled largely by Connecticut people. A Presbyterian church was established by some of them at Southampton in 1640, and eight others were founded on the island within thirty years. The first Presbyterian minister in New York City was Francis Doughty, who came in 1643 from Taunton, Massachusetts. He had been driven thence for preaching Presbyterian doctrine as to infant baptism. He ministered in New York to a company of Puritans for five years. Late in the century three Presbyterian churches were formed by New Englanders in Westchester County.

New Jersey

The strength of Presbyterianism in New Jersey is due partly to the fact that among its early set-

tlers, soon after 1665, were a number of New Englanders who were inclined toward it. To Maryland Francis Doughty came in 1650, and preached there and in Virginia. He was followed by Matthew Hill, a Presbyterian minister from England. Late in the century the clergy of New England sent several missionaries to the lower Delaware valley, who became pastors of Presbyterian churches in Maryland and Delaware. Under one of these the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia was organized very early in the next century.

Maryland

Delaware valley

B. SCOTCH-IRISH AND SCOTCH PRESBYTERIANISM

The first Scotch-Irish immigrants came to Maryland soon after 1660. Matthew Hill ministered among them, but there was need for more ministers. The Presbytery of Laggan in Ireland answered an appeal from Maryland by sending two, William Traill in 1662 and next year Francis Makemie, a young graduate of Glasgow University. Though by no means the first Presbyterian minister here, Makemie did far more to build up Presbyterianism in America than anyone before him. He had much energy, practical wisdom and courage, and devout zeal for the gospel and his church. He made extensive evangelizing tours in Maryland and Delaware. Late in the century he organized several churches on the eastern shore of Maryland. There is some friendly rivalry among them for the honor of being the oldest.

Makemie

Another Presbyterian immigration in this century was that of Covenanters, refugees of the

"Killing Times,"[1] who came to eastern New Jersey about 1685.

III. FROM 1700 TO THE FORMATION OF THE UNITED STATES

A. THE FIRST PRESBYTERY AND SYNOD

Presbyterianism in danger

About 1700 the Church of England sent a number of ministers to build up its organization in the middle and southern colonies. They were very active in certain places. Some of the British colonial governments did much to help them, and interfered with churches which were not Anglican. Consequently the infant Presbyterianism of the middle colonies was threatened with destruction. Several Presbyterian churches in and about New York City were made Anglican by force or trickery. Makemie saw the danger, and in 1704 went to London to get ministers and money from the English Presbyterians for the help of Presbyterianism in America. He secured two ministers, and support for them for two years.

So far we have had in America only separate Presbyterian churches. But Makemie felt that to keep Presbyterianism alive there was need of binding the churches together in a general organization. Since there were several churches near Philadelphia, it was natural that this city should be the center of the organization. Thus was formed in 1706 the Presbytery of Philadelphia. Its churches were in Maryland and Delaware, except that of

Presbytery of Philadelphia

[1] See p. 126.

Philadelphia. Makemie was the first moderator, and there were six other ministers, four of the New England missionaries before mentioned,[1] and the two ministers whom Makemie had just brought over, of whom one was a Scotchman and the other an Irishman. So in this first presbytery there were represented the two chief elements of American Presbyterianism, the Puritan and the Scottish.

Synod

Eleven years later the presbytery was enlarged into a synod, having four presbyteries, one each in New York (which then included New Jersey), Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. The Synod in 1729 adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms as the doctrinal standards of the Church.

B. THE GREAT SCOTCH-IRISH IMMIGRATION

The Scotch-Irish in New England

We have already seen in America a number of the Scottish people of the North of Ireland. In 1713 there began to flow into the colonies the great stream of Scotch-Irish immigrants, which was to strengthen vastly the young Presbyterian organization. The first comers landed in Boston. Some of them settled in Massachusetts, but were not welcomed, because it was thought that their strong Presbyterianism would prove an injury to the established Congregational churches. A church which some of them built at Worcester was pulled down in the night. Because of this intolerance some of the Scotch-Irish went to New York. Others went as pioneers into the new country which is

[1] See p. 188.

now New Hampshire and Maine, where there were no old inhabitants to trouble them. Here, before 1729, was formed the Presbytery of Londonderry.

In Pennsylvania

Most of the Scotch-Irish came to the middle colonies, above all to Pennsylvania. About twelve thousand came every year from 1726 to 1750. A good many settled in the older parts of the colonies. More of them, with the energy and daring of their race, pressed out into the frontiers, in the Appalachian Mountains. Here many stayed, and thus central and western Pennsylvania received their large Scotch-Irish population.

In the South

Many others went southward along the mountains into western Virginia and Carolina. Here they were reënforced by another immigration of the same kind coming through Charleston and moving westward. Thus this southern mountain region, in what are now Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky, became "an American Ulster." From their homes on the frontier the Scotch-Irish early sent pioneers into the regions farther west. In the building of the great West they played a leading part, in business, politics, war, education, religion. The history of American Presbyterianism, and also that of the United States, would be very different stories without the achievements of this rapidly growing, enterprising and courageous people.

C. PRESBYTERIANISM AND THE GREAT AWAKENING

Religious weakness

Along with the rest of the people of the colonies, those belonging to Presbyterianism suffered re-

ligious weakness in the early eighteenth century. The Puritan Presbyterians fell away from the zeal of the earlier generations as the Puritans in New England did. The state of the Scotch-Irish and Scottish people was an example of the truth that when a great body of humanity moves from its home to a new country, its religious life is weakened for a while. This was especially true in their case, because a great many of them were without churches or ministers.

The Awakening

The revival that was to bring new life first appeared under the preaching of a Presbyterian minister, Gilbert Tennent, of New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1728.[1] Having been revived himself, he was the means of reviving first his congregation and then others near by. During the next twelve years, similar awakenings occurred in other places in New Jersey and in several Scotch-Irish settlements in Pennsylvania. Another leader besides Tennent was Jonathan Dickinson, a Massachusetts man who was pastor at Elizabeth, later the first president of Princeton College. George Whitefield preached much in Presbyterian country, in Philadelphia, New Jersey and Delaware. Thus Presbyterianism shared largely in the Great Awakening, and it profited largely in the increased membership of many churches.

Resulting division

The effects of the revival were not altogether fortunate. Among Presbyterians, as in New England, there was a good deal of objection to some features of the Awakening. Certain practices of

[1] See pp. 102, 169.

some preachers of the revival were especially disapproved. They were given to entering other ministers' parishes to preach without permission, and to denouncing bitterly ministers who did not join in the movement, thereby causing trouble in churches. Gilbert Tennent was a special offender. Feeling grew against him and some other supporters of the revival until in 1741 the synod divided. The presbyteries of New York and New Brunswick, which favored the revival, formed the Synod of New York, called the "New Side," and the rest of the presbyteries, most of whose members were opposed to the methods of the revival, formed the Synod of Philadelphia, or "Old Side." It was the old division of progressive and conservative, of those who take up with new ways and those who prefer to hold to the old and tried methods. In general, the line of division ran between the Puritans, the progressives, and the Scotch-Irish, the conservatives; but not wholly so, for Tennent was of Irish stock, and some other ardent partisans of the revival were Scotch-Irish.

Ever since then there has been in American Presbyterianism this difference of progressive and conservative. While the difference has sometimes caused strife, it has been an element of strength, for each party remedies the defects of the other, and the result is better than either one alone would achieve.

Growth of New Side

During the seventeen years of the division the New Side grew very rapidly, while the Old Side lost a little. This gain of the New Side was due

largely to the founding of Princeton College by the New York Synod as a training school for the ministry. Thus the New Side had for its work an abundant supply of young men, filled with the enthusiasm of the Awakening. It was the New Side that felt the missionary spirit kindled by the revival. David Brainerd, a Connecticut man, was ordained by a New Side presbytery. So was Samson Occum, a Mohegan Indian, who did a great work for his race. The New Side sent preachers into Virginia, where a revival had begun through the reading of religious books, and there organized the strong presbytery of Hanover.

D. REUNION AND ADVANCE

In 1758 the two sides came together again as one synod, that of New York and Philadelphia. The reunited church now moved forward with energy and success. The Scotch-Irish immigration caused a great increase of Presbyterian churches in Pennsylvania and the south. Large gains were made among the Puritan population in the middle colonies, especially in New York. The synod exerted itself to provide ministers for the many new churches. For this it had a great resource in Princeton, which sent many men into the ministry. The college flourished, especially after John Witherspoon came from Scotland (1768) to be its president, and to be a leader in Presbyterianism and in the formation of the nation which was to arise. The church grew so fast that in 1775 it had eleven presbyteries and one hundred and

thirty-two ministers, which made it one of the three largest religious bodies in the colonies. The other two were the Congregationalists and the Anglicans.

E. PRESBYTERIANISM APART FROM THE SYNOD

New England

Meanwhile Presbyterianism was growing in New England. We saw that among the Ulster immigrants in New Hampshire and Maine a presbytery was organized about 1729. The Presbytery of Boston, which was formed out of this, flourished so that in 1774 it became a synod with four presbyteries. But after a very short time the synod went back to be a presbytery, and not until 1911 was there again a synod in New England.

Reformed Presbyterians

During these years two of the smaller Presbyterian churches of Scotland extended their organizations to this country. Some of the Covenanters, members of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland,[1] came to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. Under the leadership of men sent by their brethren in the old country, they organized in 1774 the Reformed Presbytery of America, from which grew the Reformed Presbyterian or Covenanter Church.

Associate Church

In 1733 some Scottish ministers of strong evangelical opinions seceded from the Church of Scotland because they considered it not evangelical, and formed the Associate Presbytery.[2] Among the Scottish settlers in Pennsylvania who were in

[1] See p. 126.
[2] See p. 127.

sympathy with this movement there was formed in 1753 an Associate Presbytery, under a Scottish synod.

F. PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE REVOLUTION

Before the War of Independence, Presbyterians, along with members of some other American religious bodies, were much concerned lest the British Government should establish the Anglican Church in all the colonies and give it authority over all the people. There seemed to be some danger of this. To no men could the prospect be more hateful than to Puritans, whose fathers had left England to escape the rule of that church, and to Ulster Presbyterians, who had suffered injustice at the hand of the established Anglican Church in Ireland. This largely explains why Presbyterians were practically unanimous in supporting the revolt of the colonies. The only minister in the Continental Congress was John Witherspoon, who was otherwise active as a patriot leader. He had several Presbyterian laymen as fellow members. In the southernmost colonies the numerous Scotch-Irish settlers in the mountain country were the backbone of the contest for liberty.

Presbyterian patriotism

Because of this activity the Presbyterian churches suffered severely during the war. Many of their church buildings and of the houses of their members were destroyed, and many of their men lost their lives. Where the ravages of the war reached, ministers often could not get support for themselves and for their families. The closing of

Presbyterian losses during the war

Princeton College for several years shut off the supply of young ministers. Presbyterianism shared also in the general religious and moral decline accompanying the war.

Therefore not much progress was made by the church during the years of the conflict. The synod did take one forward step, which was to have great effect later, by organizing in 1781 the Presbytery of Redstone, in western Pennsylvania. This was the foundation of the strong Presbyterianism of this region; but the beginnings were small for several years.

IV. FROM THE FORMATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE DIVISION OF 1837

A. NEW ORGANIZATIONS

The birth of the new nation inspired all the religious bodies to organize as national churches. One of the oldest members of the American Presbyterian family, the Dutch Reformed Church, had secured an American organization even before the war. In 1770 the Dutch churches in New York and New Jersey formed an independent body, separate from the mother church in Holland. After the war this organization was further developed.

Dutch Reformed

As the war was closing an attempt was made to consolidate the Reformed and Associate Presbyteries, and thus the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church was formed (1782). But parts of both refused to enter the union, so that, as too

Associate Reformed Church

often occurs in such cases, the result was three churches instead of two.

The Presbyterian Church U. S. A.

The Synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1788 resolved itself into the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, having under it four synods of sixteen presbyteries. The Westminster Confession of Faith was adopted as the church's statement of doctrinal belief, with amendment as to the relations of church and state. The Westminster Catechisms also were adopted, and a Form of Government and Discipline and a Directory for Worship. The General Assembly's first meeting was in Philadelphia in 1789. One hundred and thirty-six ministers and over four hundred churches then belonged to the Assembly.

German Reformed

The German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, which had been connected with the Reformed Church of Holland, not that of Germany, in 1793 became independent, under the government of its own synod.

B. THE REVIVALS AND THEIR EFFECTS

The Presbyterian Church shared largely in the widespread and powerful revivals at the close of the eighteenth century and the opening of the nineteenth. With the rest of the American churches, it had its membership increased and its life much quickened in many places.

Revivals in Kentucky and Tennessee

The greatest opportunity of the Presbyterian Church in connection with the revivals came to it in what was then the new Southwest, Kentucky

and Tennessee. The people there were almost wholly Scotch-Irish. Frontier life, always hard on religion, had been especially hard on these people because for years they had had very little hearing of the gospel. Unbelief and immorality were widespread among them. But in 1798, under the preaching of Presbyterian and Methodist evangelists, there began among them an awakening which went on with wonderful power for several years. There were not churches to hold the people who came together to hear the preaching, and great open-air meetings were held. This was the beginning of the "camp meeting." Nor were there anything like enough ministers to do the preaching.

Cumberland Presbyterian Church

Now the American Presbyterian Church had always insisted on having none but college graduates for ministers. But in this great emergency the Presbytery of Cumberland licensed as preachers a number of young men who lacked the required education. This action was condemned by the Synod of Kentucky and the General Assembly. Consequently in 1810 the Cumberland Presbytery seceded. Thus began the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which grew rapidly and made a noble record of service. In its membership there were many who objected to the statements about predestination in the Westminster Confession, holding that they taught that men were fated from the beginning to be saved or lost. Accordingly the Cumberland Church in 1813 revised the Confession, removing "fatalism." There can be no

doubt that the Presbyterian Church missed a great opportunity when in the face of this great demand for the gospel it refused to let men preach unless they were college graduates. Other churches took the opportunity and gathered in thousands of people of Presbyterian descent, for whom the Presbyterian Church was responsible.

Home missions in New York

The missionary impulse resulting from the revivals caused the General Assembly to send missionaries into the new settlements of central and western New York. Here they met missionaries sent by the New England Congregationalists. Among the settlers in the new country were many people of both churches. Here, as in the Southwest, there were religious awakenings, and the demand for preachers was great. In order to meet this situation, the famous "Plan of Union" was adopted by the General Assembly and the Congregational Associations. This allowed the two systems of church government to work together. For example, a Congregational church might belong to a presbytery and be represented there by its minister and lay delegate, while still remaining Congregational in local matters. The Plan of Union prevented the waste that comes from denominational rivalry, and allowed Christian forces to be used in the most economical way. In its working out, it brought into the Presbyterian Church many people of New England origin who had settled in New York and Ohio.

Plan of Union

Home missions further west

As people poured into the West, that is the country from western New York and Pennsylvania to

the Mississippi and even beyond, the church saw the need of enlarging its missionary work. Accordingly the Board of Home Missions was organized in 1816 to direct and push the pioneering of the gospel. Its missionaries, heroic men whose names are mostly forgotten, went all over the vast new country. They "gave up the comforts of life in the older states, that they might save the newer for Christ and his Church. They rode on long circuits through the pathless forests or over unbroken prairies. . . . They slept at night under a tree, beside a fire kept alight to scare off beasts of prey; or they shared the rude shelter and rough fare of the settler. If they found homes for their families it was in rude shanties of two rooms, where they eked out existence far from schools, physicians and stores, often laboring with their own hands. They met every form of resistance, from stolid indifference to avowed infidelity. They encountered drunkenness, lewdness, horse-racing, gambling, and Sabbath-breaking in the newer settlements. But nothing disheartened them or broke down their faith in God and the gospel, and bit by bit they saw better influences becoming pervasive, and the order of a Christian civilization replacing the wild lawlessness of an earlier day." [1]

11, 386

Colleges

One of the most fruitful parts of the home missionary work of the American churches was the founding of Christian colleges in the West. In this Presbyterians were especially active. By 1827

[1] R. E. Thompson: "History of the Presbyterian Churches in the U. S.," p. 94.

they had established twelve colleges in the newer parts of the nation, which did untold good as the country developed.

Foreign missions

Presbyterians were among the first to catch the foreign missionary vision which early in the century dawned on American Christianity. In 1800 the General Assembly sent missionaries to six of the Indian tribes. This led to the formation in 1817 of the United Foreign Missionary Society, consisting of "the Presbyterian, Reformed Dutch, and Associate Reformed churches, and all others who may choose to join them." Its purpose was to work among the Indians, in Mexico, and in "other portions of the heathen and non-Christian world," though it got no farther from home with its missions than Haiti. Before this, however, the Presbyterian Church had entered into a wider work.

Presbyterians and the American Board

For in 1812, the year in which the American Board sent its first missionaries to India, the Board chose several Presbyterians as members, and the General Assembly urged the churches to give to the Board. Through the American Board most of the foreign missionary spirit of Presbyterians expressed itself for a number of years. In 1826 it assumed all the United Society's missions. But since some felt that the Presbyterian Church should have its own missionary organization, the Synod of Pittsburgh in 1831 founded the Western Foreign Missionary Society. This body showed great energy and foresight, establishing within six years missions in Africa, India and China. It later became the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

Theological seminaries

The movement for a better training for ministers, another result of the revivals, appealed strongly to Presbyterians, because of their insistence on an educated ministry. Princeton Seminary was founded in 1812, Auburn in 1818, and Union (now at Richmond, Virginia) in 1824. As the home missionary campaign was carried farther west, the need appeared for such institutions there to supply ministers, and four more Presbyterian seminaries were founded by 1837.

National evils

In the attacks which American Christianity made on certain grievous national evils Presbyterians were foremost. Eliphalet Nott, president of Union College at Schenectady, a great teacher and a powerful orator, threw his strength into the crusade against the curse of dueling. By the General Assembly's appointment of a strong Temperance Committe in 1811, the church early enlisted in the struggle of Christian forces against the intemperance then so prevalent. Very early in the century the Reformed and Associate churches took strong ground against slavery, and the same feeling was widespread in the Associate Reformed Church. The General Assembly unanimously declared against slavery in 1818, calling upon "all Christians to labor for its complete extinction." Albert Barnes, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Morristown, New Jersey, an eminent preacher, was a bold antislavery man. The martyr Elijah P. Lovejoy, of Alton, Illinois, who was shot in 1837 by a Missouri mob for publishing antislavery articles in his newspaper, was a Pres-

Slavery

byterian minister. Along with the other churches of the South, the Presbyterian churches were affected by the spread about 1833 of the feeling in favor of slavery.[1] But Northern Presbyterians in general maintained their opposition.

Numerical growth

Like the other American churches, the Presbyterian grew very fast in the early decades of the century. In 1800 it had forty thousand members, and in 1840 the two churches resulting from the division of 1837 had two hundred and twenty-nine thousand.

C. DIFFERENCES AND DIVISION

Differences in the church

About 1830 the old difference between progressives and conservatives began to appear again. The points of difference were matters of theology and of church government. Certain theological teachings had come into the church through the influence of New England thinkers, which the conservatives thought were at variance with the Confession of Faith. They also held that the government of the church should be strictly Presbyterian, and objected to the arrangements made under the Plan of Union,[2] which allowed a mixture of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism. The differences of opinion became gradually keener, and were made still more so by several trials for heresy. Finally matters came to a sharp issue in the General Assembly of 1837. Here the conservative or "old-school" party was in control. This Assembly repealed the Plan of Union, and

[1] See p. 177.

[2] See p. 200.

then cast out of the church four synods in New York and Ohio which had been organized under the plan, on the ground that their organization was illegal.

Old School and New School

The result was the breaking of the church into two churches. The synods and presbyteries which had been cast out, with others which joined them, formed in 1838 the New School Presbyterian Church. This included nearly one half of the ministry and membership of the church, being most of the Presbyterians in New York, those in Michigan and eastern Tennessee, and many in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and New Jersey. The other part of the church was now commonly called the Old School Church. In general, the New School was the Puritan or New England element in the Church, and the Old School the Scotch and Scotch-Irish. The two churches had the same creed and constitution, and were alike in all essential matters. They were entirely separate organizations, and so remained for nearly a quarter of a century. A good deal of unfriendliness resulted from the separation. In many places churches of the two schools stood near together, competing with each other, which of course made bad feeling. But the two churches never ceased to feel that they were really parts of one church. This underlying sense of oneness was bound to assert itself in time.

D. THE SCOTTISH CHURCHES

The three Presbyterian churches of Scottish origin, the Reformed, Associate and Associate Re-

formed, grew during this period, although they showed a good deal of the unhappy tendency to division which has been so strong among Protestants everywhere. Because of the feeling against slavery in the Northern part of the Associate Reformed Church, its Southern churches went out in 1821, and formed the Associate Reformed Synod of the South, which still exists as a separate body.

Divisions

The Reformed Church divided in 1833, because of a dispute as to whether or not its members should take part in politics. At its organization after the War of Independence the Reformed Church decided that its members should not vote, since the new Constitution of the United States did not recognize Christ as the supreme ruler of the nation. But a party arose which did not hold this view, and this difference caused a division of the church into the Synod and the General Synod, both of which still exist. The General Synod allowed its members to vote and hold office under the government, while the Synod held the older position.

E. THE WELSH CALVINISTIC METHODISTS

While the great revival of the eighteenth century was going on in England, a like movement was very strong in Wales. One result was the rise of the Calvinistic Methodists, who had a Presbyterian form of government. Their first meeting, over which George Whitefield presided, was held in 1743, eighteen months before Wesley's first

Methodist conference. Among Welsh immigrants in New York State a Calvinistic Methodist Presbytery was formed in 1828, which later became a General Assembly.

V. FROM THE DIVISION OF 1837 TO THE REUNION OF 1869

A. THE OLD SCHOOL AND NEW SCHOOL CHURCHES TO 1861

During this time of separate life both branches of the church took active parts in the great home missionary advance of 1840-60.[1] Both were much strengthened by the revival of 1857.[2] Of the two, the Old School Church grew more rapidly. In 1840 the Old School had one hundred and twenty-six thousand members and the New one hundred and two thousand. Twenty years later the members of the former numbered two hundred and ninety-two thousand, and those of the latter one hundred and thirty-four thousand. The slower growth of the New School was due largely to the fact that in this time it had serious losses. In it were many people of Congregational ancestry who had come into Presbyterian connections under the working of the Plan of Union.[3] During the years of which we are speaking, an increase of denominational feeling among Congregationalists caused many of these people to leave Presby-

New School losses

[1] See p. 178.
[2] See p. 179.
[3] See p. 200.

terianism and enter Congregational churches. Differences over slavery, which was more and more the ruling question of American life, also caused a loss. The New School Church, largely a Northern body, maintained a strong protest against slavery. On this account most of its Southern members withdrew in 1854. After some years of independent life, they joined the Presbyterian Church of the South. How this arose we shall see shortly.[1]

Board of Foreign Missions

In foreign missionary matters, a step was taken at the time of the separation which has had wonderful results. The Presbyterian Church had been working through the American Board, and the New School continued this. But in 1837 the Old School Church, which wished to do things in strictly Presbyterian ways, severed its connection with the American Board, and established the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Its first secretary was Walter Lowrie, who guided its work for thirty years with remarkable wisdom and devotion. He was one of the greatest of American Presbyterians.

B. THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

In this time of division a fortunate union took place among the other Presbyterian churches. In 1858 the larger portions of the Associate and Associate Reformed churches joined, taking the name of the United Presbyterian Church. At the union a declaration was adopted protesting against slave-

[1] See p. 209.

holding, secret societies, open communion, and the singing of hymns. The objection to hymns was that they were not divinely authorized. It was thought that only the Psalms were intended by God for use in public worship.

Some members of the Associate Church, however, refused to enter into this union. Therefore this body continued to exist separately, as it still does.

C. PRESBYTERIANISM AND THE CIVIL WAR

By the opening of the Civil War, the New School Church had become entirely Northern, so that the war brought no occasion of discord among its members. A considerable part of the Old School Church, however, lay in the Southern states. This fact had prevented it from declaring against slavery, as the New School had done. It had not divided on the question of slavery, as had the Methodists and Baptists. But when the Southern states seceded, and the Civil War broke out, the division in the nation could not be kept out of the church. In Presbyterianism the church's duty to work for the welfare of the nation has always been recognized. The national crisis of 1861, most of the Northern members of the church thought, required it to declare its position. Accordingly the General Assembly of that year pledged support to the Federal Government.

Division: the Presbyterian Church U. S.

In consequence, the Southern presbyteries and synods withdrew, and during the same year they organized "the Presbyterian Church in the Con-

federate States of America." At the close of the war this name was changed to "the Presbyterian Church in the United States." This was the origin of the great church often called "Southern Presbyterian." It was considerably enlarged in the years just after the war by the addition of the synods of the border states of Missouri and Kentucky, which did not go with the Presbyterians of the Southern states in 1861.

D. THE REUNION OF 1869

After the withdrawal of the Southern Presbyterians, there were in the north two Presbyterian churches, which had by no means forgotten that they once were one. The old differences had been passing out of mind, and were now submerged by a common religious patriotism.

Reunion

As early as 1862 reunion began to be discussed. In 1869 it was accomplished, amid great rejoicing, at special meetings of the two General Assemblies at Pittsburgh. The records of both churches were made a part of the official history of the reunited church. This amounted to a declaration that the church had always been one, even in its time of divided life. A splendid thanksgiving fund for its work, amounting altogether to over seven million dollars, was raised to celebrate the reunion.

Enlarged service

With all its energies greatly quickened by the inspiration of the reunion, the church entered on a period of enlarged service in all lines. Theological disputes were now forgotten. What oc-

cupied the church's mind was the question of how to meet the religious and moral needs of the nation and the world. In the renewed home missionary advance of the years following the Civil War, the reunited Presbyterian Church achieved much and grew much. Its leader in this cause was Henry Kendall, a true statesman, with vision to frame great plans and practical force to carry them out. The foreign missionary work of the church was much expanded. Several large missions were taken over by the Presbyterian Board from the American Board. This was because the whole church was now working through the Presbyterian Board, so that the American Board no longer had the support which it had received from the New School. The spirit of aggressive service which took possession of the church at this time has remained with it ever since.

VI. RECENT EVENTS

A. CREED REVISION IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U. S. A.

Late in the nineteenth century strong desire was felt in the church for a revision of its statement of belief, the Westminster Confession of Faith. The fact that two of the great Presbyterian churches of Scotland had revised the Confession furthered this movement. There were many who prized the historic creed of the church, but also thought that in the two centuries and a half since it was written God had given the church new

light, and that this ought to be shown in its creed. The outcome of much discussion was the adoption in 1902 of certain amendments to the Confession. These, briefly, made clearer the church's belief that God desires the salvation of all men, and commissions his Church to offer his salvation to all men all over the world.

B. MOVEMENTS FOR UNION AMONG PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES

Return of Cumberland Church

The revision of the Confession cleared it of the things to which the founders of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church had objected. Thus the way was opened for the return of this body to the mother church, the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. In 1906 this reunion was accomplished. A minority of the Cumberland Presbyterians, however, stood aloof from the reunion, so that this church still exists.

In May, 1913, there met at the same time in Atlanta, Georgia, the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., and the United Presbyterian Church, and a commission representing the Associate Reformed Synod of the South. It was clearly shown that American Presbyterians have a sense of oneness lying deeper than their divisions. In 1914 a proposal for a federated union of all the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of America is under consideration in several of the largest of these churches.

C. THE CHURCHES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES

There are at the present time eleven Presbyterian churches in the United States, as follows: Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.; Presbyterian Church, U. S.;[1] United Presbyterian Church;[2] Cumberland Presbyterian Church;[3] Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Colored; Associate Church of North America;[4] Associate Reformed Synod of the South;[5] Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church;[6] General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church;[6] Reformed Presbyterian Church (Covenanted);[7] Reformed Presbyterian Church in the United States and Canada.[7] To these should be added several churches belonging to the Presbyterian or Reformed family, but not Presbyterian in name, as follows: Welsh Calvinistic Methodists;[8] Reformed Church in America ("Dutch Reformed");[9] Reformed Church in the United States ("German Reformed");[10] Christian Reformed Church (a branch of an organization of the same name in Holland);[7] Hungarian Reformed Church (a branch of the Reformed Church of Hungary).[11] In 1914 these churches together number two million six hundred thousand members, of whom two million one hundred and twenty-three thousand are in churches of the Presbyterian name. The Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.,

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[1] See p. 209. [2] See p. 208. [3] See p. 212.
[4] See p. 209. [5] See p. 206. [6] See p. 206.
[7] These are very small organizations. [8] See p. 206.
[9] See p. 197. [10] See p. 198. [11] See p. 63.

is much the largest body, having one million four hundred and fifty-eight thousand members.

The American Presbyterian churches have vast resources of all kinds, not the least of which is a noble history of service to the kingdom of God. They have great opportunities for such service, in America, and in all the world. In this early twentieth century, there is among American Presbyterians a steadily growing purpose to make their service for the kingdom far greater than ever before.

The history which we have studied shows that American Presbyterians have been loyal to their own churches. But they may justly be proud of the fact that they have thought Christianity greater than Presbyterianism. They have been most generous supporters of all sorts of undenominational efforts for religious and moral advance. They have been foremost in endeavors for coöperation and unity among the Christian churches. They look and work for a kingdom of God far greater than any church organization.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What distinguishes the Presbyterian churches from others? What is the principle of Presbyterian government?

2. What were the Reformed or Presbyterian churches of Europe?

3. What were the Presbyterian elements in the early population of America? What two elements were most important?

4. Describe: a. Early New England Presbyterianism. b. Puritan Presbyterianism in New York.

5. What did Francis Makemie do for Presbyterianism?

6. Describe the first presbytery.

7. Describe the Scotch-Irish immigration, as to time, numbers, places of settlement, and place in American history.

8. What part did Presbyterianism have in the Great Awakening? How did division result from the Awakening?

9. Describe the life of the church during the division, and after the reunion.

10. What were the origins of the Reformed Presbyterian and Associate churches?

11. What part did Presbyterians take in the War of Independence? How did the war affect the church?

12. What new Presbyterian organizations were formed about the time of the formation of the nation?

13. How was Presbyterianism affected by the revivals of the early nineteenth century?

14. How did the Cumberland Presbyterian Church originate?

15. Describe Presbyterian home missionary work early in the nineteenth century. What was the Plan of Union?

16. Describe Presbyterian foreign missionary work in this time.

17. What was the attitude of the Presbyterians toward slavery?

18. What caused the division of 1837? Where was the New School located?

19. Describe the life of the Old School and the New School during the time of separation.

20. What was the origin of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions?

21. How was the United Presbyterian Church formed?

22. What action did the General Assembly take at the outbreak of the Civil War, and what was the result in the church?

23. How did the reunion of 1869 come to pass? Describe the forward movement of the reunited church?

24. Describe the creed revision of 1902. What resulted from it?

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